773 the water, etc., these and kindred phases of the mythology which is the sole back-ground of their tribal past, make up the substance of the strange narratives unfolded, through the moderate abilities of the interpreter, Joseph Packineau, son of Charles Pactineaude or Pattineaux of the fur-trading days, to the writer.

142 "While there was nothing specially marked about the appearance of Little Owl, we can not refrain from remarking that Bear's Ghost made a distinct impression by his bearing and the manner of his speech. He was one of the most perfect specimens of the commanding physical man we ever observed. His figure was tall and lithe, his eye exceptionally bright, intelligent and winning, his voice soft yet animating; his speech was accompanied by such grace of attitude and fitting gestures as to captivate the listener. His complexion was much lighter than that of the Sioux Indian of the Dakotas, yet not as fair as to relieve his countenance from the general impress of Indian lineage. There was, however, less than usual of the more salient Indian features in high or prominent cheek-bones and roughness of contour. He appeared, in a word, the perfect gentleman and master of expression, and it was difficult to realize that an Indian was discoursing or narrating. His entire attitude was that of intelligent handling of his subject and of utter absence of any sense of inferiority. Sincerity, and a desire to emphasize the point that what he said was truth itself—these elements gave character to his narrative. And while much that he recounted seemed trival and fantastic, yet the air in which it was told gave his story the cast of respect if not of persuasion. We here repeat what has been said before in this paper—that it is believed it is not improbable that the reference to the vine and the under-world was derived from the tradition of the Gros Ventres or Minnetarees who probably came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region.

"Little Owl's account will be first given, as it was obtained first. It is seen that if his narrative and that of Bear's Ghost is given credence the Mandans came up the Missouri and from the lower Mississippi."

773 •539 **Little Owl's Account—The Creation, Etc.** "The five villages below the Knife river. Bear-on-the-Water and he is the oldest man, he says they came from the—where the Mississippi empties in the sea; after that I can't give you an account of it. They

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had a long boat and they didn't have any oars, and the only thing they did was to get in and told the boat to go—they named it 'The Go.' The boat carried any number except seven; they wouldn't let seven ride, because the boat didn't go right, and gets wicked. They could go across the sea without the oars, they just told the boat to go. That is when they lived at the mouth of the river and the boat was in the sea. The boat would go anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere. There was some Indians on the other side of the sea, when the Mandans—and they go with the boat there and bring the sea shells from the other side of the sea, and the Mandans were there and part of them on this side. This boat travels without oars. So that one day Bad Boy went along and the boat was standing there on the river bank, and Bad Boy told the boat to go, and the boat went and they have never seen the boat since. Then they moved up this way; of course they called the Mississippi the Big River, and this is called the Missouri river; and they came along and in villages that you see at places, at the Mandans, from the mouth of the sea up here. The Rees have villages too; they had villages down by the Cannon-Ball and maybe further. These Mandans came all the way up to Heart river. They came up the Mississippi and up the Missouri to Heart river. Back of the Heart river they called it the Middle Hole, that is where they came from, the other Mandans. They was down in the earth and the Mandans were there; and one young man, he goes by the name of Magpie, he is a spirit, and he finds the light upon the hill up there, and he saw where the vine went up clear up to this earth here, top of the earth, so he climbed up there till he came out this way, and he see the country and the timbers and springs and grass and the games (game), and he killed some game and he took the sinews and some meat and some other part of the hide of the animal and took them down below where the others were and showed them what a nice country there was up here, and they would all go up there; and then he says 'All right, that is the place to go,' and this man took him and showed him, and then the chief says 'All right, we'll go;' and he sent all the Holy Spirit, they got the Holy Spirit, they sent them up first, and they took it up by following this vine, and each friend goes up—climbs up by himself, they go up there night and day right along, till they were about half of them went up, and then the woman came along, she was big, and the people forbid her, and said she better come last, and the woman says 'No, I have a right to go just as well as anybody,' and she got hold of the vine and get up a little ways towards the top and broke the vine, so they—part of them are down in the earth yet; and it is a good many is here, and some of them we grow; some of my father's ancestors away back came from the earth. The vine was below here, at the Middle Hole."

The First Man. "There is a man—when this earth was no grass, no wood, nothing at all on top, just bare earth—and a man was walking along, and when he walked along and after a while he woke up, and he says 'I wonder where I come from,' all at once; then he turned around and looked at his track, the track was a buffalo track; so the man thought he must know where he come from and he followed his trail back, and then the grass was grown up and had some large white flowers on them, then another nice little fly was sitting on the flower, and the man thought this must be 'I come from here,' his tracks come from where that grass and flower is, and he looked around and he couldn't see any tracks, and the grass spoke and says 'I am the person that sent you up, the Lone Man,' that is the name they gave him, Lone Man. The little fly says to him 'We are the ones that sent you.' At the time that this man went away he had a lance block and he had his pipe when this beginning, to fix the country with, and rules with those things in the country he makes, that is, his commandments. So the Lone Man went off traveling and he met Mr. Coyote Chief, and the Lone Man thought 'I wonder where this man come from. I thought I was the only man in this world in here,' and he met this man and shook hands with him and he says 'Where you come from?' and he told him where he come from. and he says 'Where you come from too?' and Lone Man says 'I am the oldest, you will be my brother but I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule the country,' and the Coyote says 'No, I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule this country, you follow me.' So he says 'We'll go'—Coyote says 'You fix the country, you fix the north and I'll fix the south.' So they went on to fix the coulies and springs and rivers and timber and everything, and the bad lands; Coyote he made the mountains, the narrow places and more bad lands and more springs and more coulies and every-

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thing so the Indians could get their arrows, and short distance for shooting, and Lone Man he makes the north, makes so many lakes, there is no timber, a flat country, nothing but a prairie, and he couldn't be seen anywheres for long distances, and no guiding place and no nothing; and he made some springs in the country, and made timber up away back, and when he makes it timber he makes a big body of timber, and then he goes along the prairie again for miles and miles and makes timber the same way. Then he makes game, buffalo all colors, like tame cattle, with white horns. Then the Coyote he made these buffalos; and after they got through they counted the head (or meat); and he says, the first thing he asked—Coyote asked of the Lone Man 'What kind of buffalo you make?' he says 'I make some gray, some white, some red and black and white horns, and all colors and long tails.' Coyote says 'You make them long, what buffalo I make it is the kind of buffalo you won't make.' So Coyote says 'I made only one white buffalo, makes them once in a while, they'll be pretty hard to get,' so it would be of more value to the Indians for their robe. So he says—Lone Man says 'All right, I'll drive back what I made into the sea, and some of these days when the rule comes to an end when our buffalo are all gone, what I make people will live on it forever.' So this Lone Man afterwards, after he got through he knew the Mandans was in the Middle Hole and he knew those on the other side of the sea, and he knew those on this side of the mouth of the river that empties into the sea; and then he looked all over the tribes and he thought that the Mandans were the quietest and best characters, and he joined in with them and staid with them. So he advised everything that is good."

The Holy Man. "He was the Holy Man, sent on with the Holy Spirit, and a man, something like the whites that believe in Christ, he was a good character, and he didn't have anything to do with women or no wife of any kind; so the other Coyote and Rees—he makes a good country and good things, but on the other hand he was not as good as Lone Man; so they didn't take his advice but they took Lone Man's advice. He has a pipe, they got his pipe today, and they got his lance block, and they believe in him. So the Mandans they lived on Heart river. That name is by reason that right there where the Mandans is they called the

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river the Heart river, that is in the middle, from where you go from there to the south to the sea, and east the same distance, and north and west the same distance—right in the middle there, and so they called it the Heart."

The Middle Hole. "The first man (named above as being on the water), his ancestors came from the mouth of the river, and my ancestors and all other Mandans came from the Middle Hole."

Went to Winnipeg. "My father was Hit-him-in-the-Back; I was born in Ft. Berthold; am forty years old. My father was born in the Five Villages away down the river. The Five Villages was about ninety years ago. They lived there right after the smallpox was there. The villages down the Missouri river through South Dakota and to the Mississippi, that had ditches around them, were Mandan villages. The Rees have villages down here this side (north) of the Cheyenne river, just about there. They had five villages too. I don't know how far south of the Cheyenne they had villages. The Mandans grow as a people, and there are so many people and each one has a head man and chief; and they have taken their places all over, and one of the villages has gone at that time to the north to Winnipeg, and during that time one of the villages has gone again—one of the villages which the chief controls has gone; and the chief is called Tattooed Face and he has great control over the people and the largest village; and no one could tell where he went to those people. So this Winnipeg went over there, and five brothers, four of them goes in this spirit in the buffalo bulls—they were buffalo, and the youngest brother, the fifth one was a magpie, and their mother was Corn. So they went away to the north here where the Winnipegs were, and in the large timber there, they had their village there. They started from her, this side of Bismarck; and so Magpie goes out and roams around the country, and he comes back, and all his brothers were sitting and eating and laughing and enjoying themselves and plenty to eat and everything, and he sat down and he says 'My brothers, there's hard times coming:' so the August Buffalo Bull and the Fall Bull and the March Bull and the June Bull—so the August Bull said 'There's no hard times here' before he asked any questions—each one of the chiefs represents three months—so he says 'I call any of the buffalo, at the call buffalo they come in all the houses here, the children

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have plenty to eat, when the fall comes the Fall Chief calls the buffalo, and when winter comes the Winter Bull calls them,' etc. He says 'Our mother Corn Woman will plant corn on the rocks and it will grow anywheres;' so the boy Magpie he showed up. Then Magpie he has power too, he says 'I want to move to the Missouri river, I don't want to stay here in the north.' Then he got the old crier out to say that those men were going to move and that these people must go; so he brings back about half of the people—half of a village. Then he came over here to Bird's Bill at Fort Rice. And then it came to the winter, and then the buffalos and the north wind laps them, blow and storm, and they are starving; and they sent Jack Rabbit over there to Magpie's village to see how he was getting along, and they gave him two sunflower seed, so he had some of them take it back. 'They aint starving,' he said, 'They are all right;' and they took their buffalo robes and painted it right and left to hang up, so it looks like flesh, and they were kind of starving too, so he deceived them; all these buffalo robes kept all the buffalos away from him, so he deceived him. So Jack Rabbit told them 'You had better burn up the old wooden pans, etc., and call Lone Man, you are in hard shape.' So he did hallo for Lone Man, and Lone Man didn't come but sent Chinook Wind and drove all the cold away, and it kept going to the north and they are all right. So about one year from that time a flood came there and wiped out all of the houses on the north to Winnipeg, and there was a great big lodge of four of the Bulls—his brother on top of the lodge—and he came in there and says 'You said there was no hard time,' the one that spoke before he spoke first again, he says 'Why, you must have your heart just like a bone, you never told us this,' and Magpie says 'I tried to tell you about the hard times but you never gave me any show, no person could explain it to you, all you depend on you call buffalo, you don't look to other things.' 'Where's my mother?' he says. 'Your mother is right down straight here in the ground, she can't come, but she will if you want her.' And she says 'My son, are you here?' 'Yes, mother, but wait a while till I call you.' Then he went to work and pulled the bull's hair up on the top of his head to make a string to tie them like a loup, and when he got through—'Now,' he says 'I am ready, now you come, mother.' And she came up on the ear of yellow corn, she shot up like that—"(indicating)," and he got hold of her and put that string loup around her. When he comes up he got her around the neck and hung it down cross-ways, and they started to swim to the river. They had an awful long swim and got overe here back half way to Winnipeg, and he drowned first, and the August Bull drowned and the Winter Bull he drowned, two of them. The second Bull says 'There will be plenty of buffalo here when I am gone.' So the Fall Buffalo drowned, the third. And the Spring Buffalo he landed in Bird's Bill, he was the strongest and saved his mother that he was carrying on his neck—and she was turned to be an ear of corn.

"My grandfather was Yellow Tail. He was born on the Heart river I suppose. My grandfather, they knew him in the Five Villages when he was a real old man.

"This story that I tell you came from my father and grandfather and the old people of my tribe. I am a full-blooded Mandan."

Below is the account of the Mandans given by Bear's Ghost:

Bear's Ghost's Narrative. "I am a full blooded Mandan. Age 47; born this side of Knife river, what they call Manhanen, on the Point. The village is there. My father was Foolish Chief. My grandfather's name was Ghost Heart. My father was born at the Five Villages, my grandfather was born at the same place.

"There is two ways that we came from the Mandan. It would take about four days to tell it all." (Here we indicated to the interpreter—after being told that the writer could not remain so many days—that he would narrate the main part of the tradition, etc.)

"Where the Mandans came from, there's two ways, and the generals talk and talk about it all the time. Those Mandans here, there is Rushing Eagle, Standing Bear, all the three lodges once here; they could tell the story. We are younger men and we don't know, but we hear them talk about it. I will tell you the best I can. The man that walks on the water, he always wants to remember where he came from. There was no earth, it was all water in this country when he walked on it. He went back, and they called the weeds Big Medicine, and the leaves were about so big (indicating); and he followed the trail back to the weeds called Big Medicine. So the leaves were about so big (indicat-

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ing); and the flood came out of one of the leaves, on the edge of the stalk where the joints come to, and he thought 'This is my mother.' This weed says 'Yes, I am your mother, I sent you out and I want you to do something, make up your mind to have to do something.' This man was going around on top of the water, he was naked, he went on top of the water, and he walked along, and finally he run across a track, and he went on, and the other fellow—he didn't know who he was at this time—he crossed his track and hunted around for a time three or four times, and they came across one another's tracks, and finally they met one another; and he told him—Lone Man told the other fellow, where he arrived from and where he started. The other fellow says 'I don't know where I come from but I walked along this way,' and the other fellow his hair was kind of kinky, and he was short and heavy joints and muscles were quite large on him, and the other fellow was kind of small and his body was nice built and his nose was small and his hair was kinky, and he had yellow eyes—he was Man Chief. So they walked along together and they come onto two divers, ducks, and asked them 'What are you doing here?' 'We don't know where we came from, we're here'—no other birds but them. So they asked them 'What are you eating, how far do you go down there?' 'We go down to the bottom of the mud in the water, pretty hard.' He says 'Go down there and bring me some earth.' They dived down there and didn't come up for some time, and after a while they came back without it, and took a rest. They go down again and bring some up; and they hold their hands, each one on their right hand—hold their right hand out and the ducks put the mud in there. So they dried it and grind it. And they go and they named it west and north and east and south. And so he told them—Man Chief told Lone Man to go to work and make the land on the east and north side, and I'll make the south side, and we will make this river—this Missouri river. So they went on and worked on them quite a while, and they made everything come together again. And Lone Man, what earth he got he ground it so fine, make the country more prairie, and the other fellow didn't grind it so fine and makes more bad lands. They went to work, and they come together, and Man Chief asked Lone Man what kind of buffalo he made, he told him he made spotted

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ones and all kinds, and he made the same, and he (meaning, probably, Lone Man) says 'You done wrong making those kind of buffalos;' and they had a dispute. He says 'I made the game so you could kill them or catch them,' he says 'You make the game, you can't catch them soon enough, they are pretty wild, some of these days your buffalo will be gone and mine will walk around amongst the people.' He told him he made the moose and all that kind of game, white bear and all kinds in the north; and birds blue and red and yellow and all color, east. Then the other fellow he made the eagles and hawks and the other kind of birds around west and south. That is the way they did. So they make the people, and they come into the Mandans, and started on the Mandans, the first language they made was the Mandan language, he made it himself."

First Men Meet at the Sea. "In the mouth of the sea, where this river empties into the sea, right below, there is where the two men met each other, and he make the earth. Then when they got through Lone Man staid with them, he staid right there; and the people moved to the west and he moved along with them—Lone Man did. Then down in the south here the Corn Man came up from under the earth and followed the vine up, and he killed the game and took the sinews and paunch and some other things, the fat, and took it down there, and he says 'What a fine country, and here's plenty to eat,' and so on; and they started to moving and coming up the vine, they caught hold of the vine and came from under the earth up, and about half way over, and this large woman came, and they all told her not to go, not to start. 'No,' she says, 'I'll go,' and she started up, and she broke the vine, and under the earth down there they cried; and they quit and halloed up and says to the people that was up (half of them were up)—they says 'You can go, it is all right.' Some of the grandfathers or mothers or fathers were down in the earth and some of them were up. So they traveled towards the Missouri, and this Lone Man traveled up to the west side of the river, and they met the Mandans and the other Mandans, and they came together.

"It is just the same as we—they started to meet her—this Corn Woman, and she married one of the Bulls, he took her over there to Winnipeg and started a village there; and this woman—and

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they had five children, the Fall Bull, Winter Bull, Spring Bull, and Summer Bull, and Magpie." (The rest of his story on this head is, as the interpreter states, the same as that of Little Owl.)

"The people that came from below the earth and followed the vine met the tobacco—(here a sample of the upper Missouri tobacco is shown). The Magpie went over to where they were—the four Bulls sat up on top of the lodge, etc. (continuance of the story of the other Indian, Little Owl). They had a long swim, and one died over at Mouse river by Minot, and the other was half way down the Missouri and the fellow came down to Coal Harbor (in McLean Co., N. D.) and died, and the other fellow swam down to Bird's Bill (Fort Rice) and died."

Four Bull and the Flood. "You whites have a flood. This flood where the four Bulls swam down is the same flood. There was a general that they kept an account of the years until—they kept it at the time of the smallpox, I can't explain very well, but the villages down the river, but Lone Man says 'You must not go to some other country, follow this river all the time;' and the time that those corn people all came up under the earth to meet the Lone Man people, that is the time they plant corn, squash, tobacco, beans, etc., and they have been raising it ever since. And now our seeds are going amongst the whites and amongst the Sioux, and everywhere our seed is growing.

"I want you to put this down just as I tell it; and you people knew God and His making the world. Maybe it is the same, but we have seen, our people have seen with their naked eyes that they made the world too. We have the same flood, only we couldn't keep the date, we lost the track.

"I was three years old when I left the village to come up to Berthold." (Meaning when he came to the old Confederated Village.)

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of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.[39]

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[40]

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A long time ago the Missouri River flowed into the Mississippi River and thence into the ocean. On the right bank there was a high point on the ocean shore that the Mandan came from. They were said to have come from under the ground at that place and brought corn up. Their chief was named Good Furred Robe. He had one brother named Cornhusk Earrings and another younger brother called No Hair on Him or Head for Rattle after the gourds. They had a sister named Corn Stalk.

In this early time when they came out of the ground, Good Furred Robe was Corn Medicine, and he had the right to teach the other people how to raise corn. The people of Awigaxa asked him to teach them his songs so as to keep the corn and be successful in growing their corn. Good Furred Robe also had a robe which, if sprinkled with water, would cause rain to come.

When they came out of the ground, there were many people but they had no clothing on. They said, "We have found Ma'tahara." That was what they called the river as it was like a stranger. It is also the word for "stranger." They went a short distance and planted corn, even though they were naked. They were located there for a few years, and all that time they planted corn. Then they moved north, and no one knows the number of years they stopped at the different places. At last they came to the place where the river flowed into the ocean. When they came to the mouth of this river, they saw people on the other side who could understand their language and they thought they were Mandan too. The village on the other side had a chief whose name was Maniga. It was a very large village.

While they were stopping there, they found that the people on the other side owned bowls made of shells. At Good Furred Robe's village they would kill the rabbits for the hides. They also killed the meadowlarks for the yellow crescents. They took them to the people of the other village to trade for shell bowls. They would also take the rabbit hides painted red and trade for the shells.

Good Furred Robe also owned a boat that was holy. It could carry twelve men. Each time they wanted to trade in the other village, they would take the red rabbit hides and the yellow meadowlark breasts and float over. There was a rough place in the middle, and they would drop some of these objects into the water, and then the water would calm.

All during this time they had enough corn to live on, but nothing is told in the traditions about their clothing. They continued moving up the river until they came to the mouth of the Missouri River. They saw many trees on the Mississippi River and decided to go across and live on the Mississippi. They stayed in that country for three or four years, all the time planting corn along the river. They said, "We have discovered a better river and it will be a good place to plant the corn." They discovered fine evergreen trees, and we have called them medicine trees since that time.

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[39] *Op. cit.*, pp. 301–3.

[40] Wolf Chief secured this information from Chief, his Mandan father-in-law, whose wife was formerly married to Bobtail Bull, a Corn ceremony bundle-owner. For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 10–11; Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 312–17; and Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I, 279–80.

There were no bows and arrows in those days, and one of the men made a bow and arrows, practicing with them and picking out sharp bones with which to tip the arrows. He also found the sinews that would stretch the bow. We do not know if they were eating meat or not at that time. There were many elk, deer, and beaver on this river, and that is why they called it Good River. At that time they found a dead buffalo in a mud hole, and one of them said that they ought to take the hide off and cut it into a long string to catch deer with. When they took the hide off, they cut the strings and twisted them to dry. Then they made a loop on the end. They would go out and find deer trails to hang it in to catch the deer. They made many of these snares and set them out in many places. They would find some dead deer and even some elk hanging there.

After they learned how to do this, they had plenty of meat to eat with their corn. They stayed at that place for over ten years. It was at this time that they learned how to use the bow and arrows tipped with bone, to kill smaller game.

Again they moved from there farther up the Mississippi River until they found a place where there was much timber but the surrounding land was flat. They found a flat place where the timber was not so thick, and there they lived for six years. At that time they called themselves Nu'itadi, meaning "from us." Some of them were called Nup'tadi (no meaning); another group was called Awi'gaxa (no meaning). One of the latter two bands moved from the others under a chief named Four Bulls and came to a place where there was much timber. The village after the split must have been in the western part of Minnesota not far from Pipestone.

They traveled southward then until they came to heavy timber and had a big village[41] there. While there they learned more about bows and arrows and could shoot even beavers and other game. Then they had plenty of food. Again they traveled on through the deep timber and had another village, staying there for four years. The earth lodges at that time were of the eagle-trapping type with grass and dirt covering the sides.

When they stopped there, a man went out looking for game and followed a creek. He saw some mud sticking out of a hill, and there was a spring at that place. The mud was sticky; he took some of it out and carried it away a short distance. He left some of it flat on the ground to dry. When he went back where he had left the mud, it was hard except that there was one crack. He thought that there should be some use for that mud. He thought, "I will get some sand and mix it with this mud and leave it again. It might be of some use." Then he went home again. When he returned, the mud was still cracked. He thought, "If I crack some stones and crush them fine to mix with the clay,

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[41] These villages were named in the Okipa ceremony, but the language used was unintelligible to the listener, as it was an old dialect. The translation was a part of the secret lore which passed with bundle sales.

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it might be better." He found some hard stones and put them in the fire to burn four days. Then he crushed the stones and took the material to the place where the clay had been left. He mixed the clay with the crushed stone, shaped it into a pot, and left it in the sun to dry. Next day when he went back, he found that it was hard and could be used. He made many more; some he made into the shape of spoons.[42] From that time they had pots. After that they made large ones and baked them to cook in. The Mandan were the first to discover pottery; the Hidatsa and other people learned the art from them. The mud was a special kind, and it was hard to find. Later they found this clay around the flint they took out of the tops of hills west of the Missouri River.

They stayed there for more than ten years, for there were many animals suitable for food as well as good corn grounds. During this time some of the young men were looking for game, and they came out of the timber. They could see the flatland for a great distance, so they thought that they would move. At first they did not come completely out of the woods but stayed on the edge.

When they came out of the timber, they had another large village again. They stayed there a long time, for there was much game and they had their gardens in the timber.

When they had the village there, it happened that they had a dry year. The people who called themselves Awigaxa made a feast, and they had some of the women paint their faces and wear geese[43] on their heads. First Creator and Lone Man came at that time. They asked these people where they came from, and they replied that they had come up from under the ground and that they had traveled around much since then. The two men said, "You seem to be getting along well here. We came from the west bank of the Missouri River. We discovered some prairie dogs in a village there, but we changed them into humans. We showed them how to put on the Buffalo Dance, but we see now that we would rather have you people here put on that ceremony, for you would be more careful about giving the dance."

Then the two men walked off and returned to the prairie-dog village they had changed into humans. First Creator and Lone Man had made the dance for the prairie dogs, and, when they came back, they saw that these people were not fit to give the dance, for they had left the drum in the ashpile. They thought, "These people don't appreciate the dance, for they are not the right kind of people to begin with. It would be much better to take the Buffalo Dance from them." The two men took the Buffalo Dance away from the prairie dogs and gave it to the Mandan. They gave the prairie dogs a curing ceremony instead. The Arikara were the prairie-dog people. They have the Prairie Dog Curing Medicine yet.

First Creator and Lone Man came back to the Mandan village and said, "We are going to show you the Buffalo Dance."

They said "What is it?"

They replied, "It is a good thing for you, and any time you have a shortage of food, you will pray for food. This way it will increase your people and bring you plenty of food." They showed these people how to give the ceremony, paint, and dress.

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[42] Spoons have never been found in Mandan archaeological sites, whereas pots are abundant.

[43] The Goose Women's Society. It was founded by Good Furred Robe, and the Corn bundle-owner was singer for this society.

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They thought, "How will we paint to make them good-looking? We might use some of the color of the snakes; they look nice. It is not a real snake but the worm on the chokecherry bushes. Between the shoulders they grow a hook. We will have that represent the mask and take that color for the buffaloes. The hook behind will be the buffalo horn and the branches will be the branches of the worm nest."

The people inquired how they would fix up that way and Lone Man said, "Go out and kill a buffalo; take all the flesh off of the skin and bring the hide to me." The people went out and killed a buffalo and brought the hide to the two men. They called one of the young men to stand before them. They took the horn off with the horn core removed. The young man had long hair hanging down. They put the horn on his back with the brush over it, reaching over his head and hanging down nearly to the ground. They painted him on the chest, legs, and arms with red, black, and white. All this was representative of this bug in color. When he was painted, he was very beautiful.

At this time they had a hide for a drum. They wanted to practice the songs that belonged to this drum, but the drum was not very solid. It would sink into the ground and soon wear out. Lone Man was doing the drumming, and he said to First Creator, "You show them how the dancing is done, and I will do the drumming." Lone Man sang the song, and First Creator danced, stretching his arms out. He danced and showed the painted man how to dance.

Lone Man said to the people, "You must not touch this drum, for it is very holy. We are going out to look for another drum and will be back after a while."

They went out, and after a while they came back with the badger. Even before they had the Buffalo Dance, Lone Man had a flat stick. Before he touched the badger, he held the stick up, but the badger pleaded that he was not strong enough. When he held the stick up, the badger sank into the ground.

They said, "The badger has no strength and is not suitable." They went to the beaver, but, before he ever hit the beaver, the animal sank into the ground. Each time he held his stick up, the earth shook. They went out again and came to a turtle. They asked him but the turtle replied, "I have no strength or power. I would rather that you went to the big turtle who is in the ocean. He would be a better drum, for his life will be so long that he will last forever. He will be better for the drum."

When they came to the shore, they found a large turtle; it was brown. They talked to the turtle saying, "We are looking for a drum to use in the dance, and now we need you for the drum."

The Turtle said, "That is all right. I do not think I can go myself, but you can look me over and then make one yourself out of a buffalo hide. When you fix it that way I will be there just the same, for you will be taking the shape of my body. If you do that, I will last forever."

When they returned, they killed a buffalo, took the hide off of the bull, and made a turtle. They made the legs out of oak and covered it with a hide from which the hair had been removed. Then they painted the outside with red paint. They finished the turtle, and in two days the hide was all dried up. First Creator said, "We must pick out a young man to dance in the costume; you show him how to dance." Lone Man made a motion as of striking the turtle. At the same time there was a noise as if the earth were cracking and

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dust came up, but the turtle was not driven into the earth like the other animals had been. Then Lone Man said, "That is the kind of drum we want; it will last forever. After this if any of you people dream of this dance or have a dream in which it is a part, then you must put up this dance. We are not going off right away but will be around near by."

He said, "When a young man is dancing, he may want to smoke the pipe. If they feel like smoking it, fill it up. I made it out of a green buffalo tail, bent it on one end to hold the tobacco, and filled it with sand until it was dry. The men with the buffalo heads must not touch the pipe. If he wants to smoke, you hold the pipe while he smokes."

About this time, Good Furred Robe, who was always traveling, found a red spot and wondered what it was. Going there, he saw that it was a stone. He thought that it might be a good thing to make a pipe from. Up to this time the people had used black stone pipes for smoking. He brought the red stone back. He thought how in the Buffalo Dance they used the buffalo tail and how it would be a good thing to fix up the red stone pipe and let them use that. He made a pipe with no elbow; the hole was in the end.

They had another Buffalo Dance, and one young man danced. At that time Lone Man came back. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to him and said, "I saw you using the buffalo tail, and I think this is better." Lone Man said, "It looks pretty, but I am afraid of it, for it is the color of human blood."

The Goose Women had put up a feast because the fields were drying up. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to them and said, "I have a good pipe here; it is a nice color. You should use it instead of the one you have that is not pretty." They said, "We are afraid of it because it is the color of human blood." The people were wondering where he had found the the red stone, and he took some of them to the place and showed them where he had found it. They saw some of the pretty stones and made a few pipes for their personal use. (I tried to claim the pipe stone quarries by this story, but some people did not believe it. Mrs. White Duck has Good Furred Robe's skull, but some of the younger men do not claim it because they are not familiar with this old story.)

Later three men were traveling around a great deal, and each time they would get out farther and farther. One time they came to the Missouri River and saw timber on each side. They reported this to the people, who thought that it must be a branch of the river they passed farther to the south. They decided to move from their village toward the river. They came to the Missouri River at what they called White Clay Creek.[44] It is below the Cheyenne River today. The camp was just opposite that river on the east side.

They built a camp there, and after three years the Awigaxa disappeared. They thought that the Awigaxa must have gone up the Cheyenne or White Clay River to the west. Two years afterward, about twelve families of the Awigaxa came back.

When they came back, they said, "They sent us back because the people out there do not think you know the Corn Medicine rites. They asked us to teach them to you."

The Awigaxa already talked a little differently from the others. Three years after they came back, the Buffalo Dance had increased so that four danced.

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[44] This is White River, which enters the Missouri River below Chamberlain, South Dakota.

It is not known how many times they had villages along the river. At that time a man dreamed of the Buffalo Dance. He told his people afterward, "I saw more than one bull and many different birds and animals. There was a human being with a long penis. I saw four turtles instead of one."

Lone Man came back. He related his dream to Lone Man, who said, "That is all right. You should try to put up the ceremony."

In the dream he had seen the four turtles. They had eagle feathers on their heads, but Lone Man said, "It would be hard for you to save that many feathers. You will have time to save some. Take your time saving all those feathers. If you think there are enough for four turtles, call me, and I will hear even though I am far away."

He saved all the feathers, knowing that it would take him a long time. In three or four years he had the necessary feathers, and then he called Lone Man. They made three more turtles just like the other one they had fixed before on the pattern of the ocean turtle.

When the two finished the turtles, they arranged them in a row, first the small one, then the two medium-sized ones, and then the large one which had been made first. Lone Man said, "You should give them what you can." It was the speckled eagle feathers that he was giving them. When he came to the last one, thinking it would like the calumet eagle's feathers best, he decorated it with those feathers. The one at the head said to the man, "You did not give me the right kind. That feather I do not like. For that reason, I am going back to the water."

They tried to hold him but could not. He walked away and went into the water. They called to Lone Man to help them. He came back and walked toward the turtle in the water. He took his lance up, sang his song, motioning with it at the water which ran apart. He could see the turtle in the water. He said, "They gave you the best of all. What is the matter?"

The turtle said, "That is all right." Then the water covered over the turtle again. I was never at the place[45] where it went into the water, but it was about opposite where Fort Yates now stands. The place or village is called "Where Turtle Went Back."

When Lone Man saw that the turtle was in the water, he turned around and walked back. Then they started the ceremony, and Lone Man said, "It is all right, for there are three left." They selected a big lodge and by that time the buffalo masks were taken inside. Lone Man was in there and the Ho'-kaha, a tall blue-gray bird with a long bill and a short tail [probably the heron], was in its place.

There were forty families that went out to White High Butte, now called Sheep Butte. These people separated from the others over in the woods before the Mandan reached the Missouri River. There is a river which runs north at Minot, North Dakota. There is a high butte up there called White High Butte. It is to the north of the Turtle Mountains. Their chief was Four Bulls, as you recall earlier in the story. Four Bulls and all his people had moved up there, building villages along the way until they reached this spot. Sometime in the spring they were living there. The Indians would make a trap of brush

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[45] Crows Heart has seen the spot and says that it is upstream from the mouth of the Cannonball River at an old village near Butte without Hair on the east bank. This is probably the Shermer Site. There is another Butte without Hair directly opposite on the west side of the Missouri River.

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and woven hair and put bait inside it. The birds going inside were taken. The birds were fat and good to eat. In the spring a young man, not knowing any better, pulled all the feathers off one of the birds and stuck one of the feathers through the bird's bill and nostrils. There were four medicine men there named Spring Buffalo, Winter Buffalo, Middle of the Summer Buffalo, and Autumn Buffalo.

At the time some of the young men in the village went out and caught young buffalo calves and brought them into the village. It was customary to blow up the entrails to dry. The young men blew up some, dried them, putting them over the calves' heads and telling them to go. When the Lone Man created these birds, he had them represent the water by the little spots under their wings. The four medicine men were angry at the way the calves were treated. The birds were angry also. They caused rain to fall for a long time. The water kept rising, getting nearer and nearer to the villages. The people called for Lone Man, saying that the water was coming and covering them. He fixed up the sticks in a circle with a water willow around them. When he finished, he took all the people of the village into the corral around the village. The four medicine men changed into buffaloes. They had a younger brother who was the magpie.

When the water began to cover the village, they started to swim to the Missouri. Magpie had a string around his neck which held the corn. One of the buffaloes was exhausted and said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffalo here and people can come here and hunt them." Then there were three. After a while one more of them was exhausted, and, before sinking, he said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffaloes if the people come here," and he sank.

A third one became exhausted, and he said, "In the future if people come here they will find plenty of buffaloes," and then he sank. There was one buffalo left, and he was swimming along. He saw a high butte in front of him. It was Birds Bill Butte,[46] and he swam toward it. He was completely exhausted when he reached the butte.

Back where Lone Man had the people in the corral, they were saved by the power of his corral. He said, "This cedar and corral is my protector. From this time on, you will always have it." The Mandan under Good Furred Robe traveled northward along the Missouri River until they reached the Heart River, where they joined the others whom Lone Man and First Creator had created at that place. At this time the flood was coming. These people built a large corral south of the Heart River on Eagle Nose Butte where they also were safe from the flood.

The Awigaxa did not have the turtles and cedar to protect them, for they had the Corn to worship. While living on the White Clay Creek and Cheyenne River, the Awigaxa became separated, and the group not having the Corn ceremonies was lost while making sinews near the Black Hills. Before the flood, the others came back to the Missouri River, for the river bottoms were not so large where they had been and not much corn could be grown. They built large villages at the mouth of the Cheyenne, Moreau, and other streams until they reached the mouth of the Grand River. At this time they had corn rites, but there is no mention of the Okipa or the sacred cedar.

When word reached the people who were living at the Grand River that a great flood was coming, they must not have had a sacred cedar since those who remained in their villages were drowned while those who escaped to the Rocky Mountains were saved. After the waters had retreated, those in the mountains planted corn out there, but the seasons were too short and the yields were small. The people wanted to return to the Grand River, but other people were living there. Scouts sent out reported that the other Mandan who had lived on the west bank of the Missouri near Painted Woods had left their village, the ruins of which were still standing, to seek shelter in a large corral built by Lone Man near the Heart River. The people decided to move from the mountains and built a village near Painted Woods at a spot where there was much wood.

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[46] Also known as Eagle Nose Butte.

While living in this village called Awigaxa, Lone Man and First Creator came along and found them. They came along when the water was high during the spring floods and told the people that higher floods might come and that they should have something to protect them. Some of the people thought it would be easier to escape to the mountains, since it took so much goods to perform the Okipa and the rites at the sacred cedar. Others thought that it was more costly to travel so far. Still others thought that the cedar would be useful for other purposes. Lone Man sent a young man a dream in which he saw the buffaloes dancing at the sacred cedar, and the old men interpreted the dream to mean that they should give the Okipa. Some thought that goods should be paid in large quantities equal to the inconvenience of moving to the mountains, and from this time the Awigaxa were the most liberal of the villages in supplying goods for the ceremonies. Lone Man and First Creator came and taught young men who were brave and intelligent how to impersonate the different characters. There were more people in the ceremony than when the other Mandan were taught the ceremony while living far to the southeast.

Even the Awaxawi and Awatixa who were living on the Missouri at that time came to make offerings and to fast. The Hidatsa must not have come south yet from the place where they had gone to escape the flood, for nothing is said of them in this old story. After the Okipa ceremony was given, the people were very lucky because there were so many more gods to protect them. Because the people were so lucky, when the wood was exhausted at one place, they built another village near by. No bad luck came to them until smallpox was brought in by the white men.

785 ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun
171 Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

785 The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally
562 practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice
304 of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and
765 in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a relative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

787 Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara
785 who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

787 A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara
785 came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he
539 was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

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[1] This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

> When he returned to the village, people of his father's clan took away his gun, bow and arrows, and knife. He was required to pay in robes to get them back. The more one paid on these occasions, the higher he was regarded. 787 785 539 ●

Scattercorn used the story of Big Coat to illustrate the severity of self-torture:

> When Big Coat was eight years old, the Nuptadi Village was destroyed by the Sioux, and he was taken prisoner. When he was older, he escaped with his mother and came back to the Mandan. Thinking of the treatment of his people, he vowed that he would get a guardian spirit that was real strong so that he could kill many Sioux. He first went out to fast when he was seventeen years old. At first he only fasted four days at a time, and many animals offered him help. Then he began to fast seven days to get still greater gods. All the people began to recognize his ambitions and say that he would surely be lucky and become a great leader who would do much good some day. He began to cut off his fingers and offer them to the Sun, Moon, and big birds of the sky. [304] He cut off three fingers of each hand, leaving only the thumb and middle finger of each hand which he needed to use the bow and arrow. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. He even cut off his flesh and offered it to the Holy Women.[2] Before he stopped fasting, he had nearly everything as a guardian. He was always successful when leading war parties.

Offerings of fingers and flesh were made chiefly to the Sun, 785 but included the other characters represented in the Sun bundles, which were the Moon, Old Woman Above, Woman 304 Above (sister of the Sun), and the Holy Women. Sun was a cannibal and was believed to eat the human flesh offered to him.

Fasting and self-torture were practiced when on eagle-trapping expeditions.[3] 785 The leader expected the younger men to volunteer. Dragging buffalo skulls by means of thongs through the skin of the back or suspension from trees or banks were the usual methods employed. Others drew wood to camp by means of these thongs. Fasting was not employed regularly at these camps except for short periods, since, to be successful, more time was consumed than in self-torture. When trapping was poor, many advanced middle-aged men would fast and cry to bring success. Self-torture was employed regularly when on war expeditions, but fasting was not practiced, since there was not time for the party to wait several days in one spot. Generally they were hung over a bank or from a tree. The thongs were inserted by one of the father's clan.

Dragging of buffalo skulls was done when in the summer vil-

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[2] These were his father's gods.

[3] See chap. vii below.

241 361 796 points was the accessibility to desirable corn grounds. With the prominent place of agriculture in the economic life of these people, it was a logical consequence that leaders of the Corn ceremonies should determine sites for new villages. Although the actual site was selected by the Corn bundle-owners, the laying-out of the open circle and location of the sacred cedar and ceremonial lodge was the responsibility of the individuals impersonating Lone Man and Hoita in the Okipa ceremony.

796 From an analysis of traditions and rites retained after the smallpox epidemics something of the nature of the old corn ceremonies could be determined.

1. There was only one Robe bundle, which came from the Nuptadi Village of the east side of the Missouri.
2. The Skull bundle was of west-side origin and came originally from the Awigaxa band, who were last to reach the Upper Missouri.
3. Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and secondary bundles belonging to this ceremony were found in all Mandan villages and, in fact, in Hidatsa, Awatixa, and Awaxawi villages. The ceremonies and beliefs with few exceptions were identical between villages and tribes. This seems to be an older, widely diffused Mandan-Hidatsa ceremony to which new practices, particularly the fertility or consecration of the seed rites, were added, based mythologically on a dramatization of corn as people coming from the ground.

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CORN MYTH OF THE ROBE BUNDLE
RELATED BY SCATTERCORN[8]

•539 The Corn People were living under the ground by a lake. One day some of the people saw an opening reaching up to the land above, and there was a vine growing in this hole. They asked the Fox to climb up and see this land. He climbed up, but, when he stuck his nose out, he got only a brief look at the beautiful land above because Sun burned his nose.

Then they asked Elk to go up and dig the hole larger with his horns. He made the hole large so the people could get through. The people started up, following the vine. They came up continuously for four days, but on the last day a woman heavy with child broke the vine and ended the migration forever. All these people had been raising the corn on this land beneath the earth.

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[8] For another version of the same myth, apparently also related by Scattercorn, see Will and Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–23. Also see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 35–48, for data on Good Furred Robe, including data on Corn Priest, Goose Women Society, and Black Mouth Society.

There were four leaders in the group that reached the earth. They were three brothers and a sister. Their names were Good Furred Robe, Cornhusk Earrings, Uses His Head for Rattle, and a sister named Waving Corn Stalk. Good Furred Robe began to lay out the villages and fields. He laid out the lodges in rows like the rows of corn, and he assigned the garden plots to each family. Then he distributed corn, beans, squash, and sunflower seeds to each family.

In those days the sister would be out in the fields all day overseeing the work. One day a stranger came to the gardens and wanted to talk to her, but she would not see him. He came four times to see her, but each time she refused. That man was Sun. On his fourth visit he said, "What you plant you will not harvest."

The next day when the sun came up, the air was so hot that the corn wilted. After the sun had set, she went through the gardens with her robe singing the holy songs, and the corn plants revived. Sun scorched the gardens four times, and each time she revived them with her robe and songs.

The people were living there when men appeared on the opposite bank and said that they wanted to cross, and the Mandans called them Miditadi after that time. After the Hidatsa crossed the Missouri they camped near the Mandan villages. Some of their young men were foolish, and the customs at that time were quite different, so the older men were afraid that there would be trouble.

Good Furred Robe said, "Our ways are a little different, so I think it would be better if you had villages of your own. If you stay too near us, there will be trouble. If you go too far away, we will be strangers and there will be trouble. The best plan will be for you to travel north until, when you camp, you cannot see our fires. That will be the best place to settle. If you will send your chiefs over in the morning, I will give them all the different seeds we have.".

That morning when the men arrived, Good Furred Robe broke an ear in two and said, "My friend, you can take the tip or the butt." The Hidatsa took the tip because he thought that it was the best part. The Hidatsa left that day. The Mandan built fires on the hills, and, when the Hidatsa had traveled until they could no longer see these fires, they stopped and built their village, which was at Knife River.

Good Furred Robe told the people that in the spring they should have certain songs sung when the ducks and other waterbirds came north so that there would be plenty of rain and good crops. He also told them that each family should bring out two kernels of each crop they grew and he would cleanse them so that they would germinate. All that spring and summer, he was painted with red paint and wore moccasins with the fur side on the inside. He wore his sacred robe all that time and could not eat early plums, berries, or garden products until the fall when the corn was ripe and the people announced that they had their seed for the next year. Men brought his meals to him while the crops were growing. He could not sleep with or go near his wives or other women. At the close of these restrictions, those with Corn medicines met, and there was a cleansing feast, after which these restrictions were removed.

Good Furred Robe also told the people that, when working in the gardens, they should burn sage and rub themselves with it to remove the bad spirits of the fields. In those days when he instructed them in that manner, worms and bugs fell from their robes, so the Mandan women set the rule of always burning sage at the close of the day's work in the fields.

Then he organized two societies, one for the men and the other for the women. He called the society for the men "Brave Warrior Society" or "Black Mouths." He brought in the men to dance. Two were given cornstalks, for only the bravest were to carry them, and he told them that these plants represented the bravest men. In war these two men could get a stick and attach raven feathers to represent the corn. If this staff was stuck into the ground, they could hold the enemy back, and, if the Mandan wanted to retreat, they could pull up the staffs and retreat without being killed. The men were between thirty and forty years old.

He organized a women's society and called it the Goose Society. The older ones would be around thirty years of age and would keep the society for five years. He selected two little girls about eight years old and stood them in the middle of the group. One girl's mouth was painted blue, the other's was black, and both represented geese. Each member wore a gooseskin and head for a headdress. Whenever anyone made an offering to the waterbirds when they came north in the spring or in the fall when they returned to the south, this society met and danced. All others with rights in the Corn ceremonies came out at those times also. The leader of the Goose Society and the last woman in the line both carried small clay pots. People could come to these dances and make offerings of horses, guns, or robes which entitled them to dance in the line, going around the Corn Priest four times, which was a sign that the giver would live to be old.

When Good Furred Robe grew old, he told the people to keep his skull and that praying to it would be like praying to him when he was living. There was a little difference in the way that offerings were made to him. I told you today that, when anyone puts on a feast to Old Woman Who Never Dies, an image of her is put up before the giver's lodge so that all will know that the household has made a feast to her. When feasts to the Sacred Robe or the Sacred Skulls are made, the offering is placed on a post on the prairies near the village.

The inheritance of the Sacred Robe bundle was from Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for Rattle.

SKULL BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. WHITE DUCK

Long ago the Mandan lived together under the ground near the ocean. Some hunters found a hole reaching up to the surface of the land we are now living on and climbed up to investigate. Before they reached the top they heard the bellowing of the buffalo herds. On reaching the top, they found buffalo herds everywhere. Elk, deer, and antelope were in great numbers also. They killed some buffaloes and dried the meat to take back to the people. Then they returned to the hole and went back down to the land below. When the people below learned that game was plentiful up above, they wished to come up at once, but the second chief of the people warned them that fat women heavy with child must not go up at that time.

The people started coming up to the top, but, when about half of them were up, a large woman heavy with child started up. The people said she should not go up but should wait until her child was born. She insisted, but her weight broke the grapevine, and she fell down. This separated the people, half being below and half above.

Before coming out of the ground, Corn was a man. Everyone looked to him to give them success in raising their garden products. When the vine broke, he was still below, but his daughter, Waving Corn Stalk, succeeded in reaching the top. She looked back into the hole and cried when she learned that her father was separated from her. She cried, "What shall I do? I am up here all alone."

Her father replied, "You are old enough to understand all my ways of doing things. I give you the right to plant the corn anywhere you wish. Plant the corn anywhere up there, and it will grow, even though you plant it on top of rocks. You have your three brothers with you up there."

After the Mandan had been on the earth a long time, word came that because of angering Manika a big flood was coming. The people separated then, most of the west-side people went to the Rocky Mountains, but the others stopped at Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan, building their village on the highest banks out of reach of the waters. It took a long time for the ones who went west to reach the mountains because there were only dogs to draw the travois. While there they said they would make some holy things to bring the rain when they wanted it, so they killed an elk to get a robe on which they drew a picture of the mountains with the clouds, lightning, and the thunderbird on it. They lived there many years but turned back because it was not a good place to raise corn. The people found plenty of buffalo, but they were disappointed because they could not raise corn. Others did not like the climate with its frequent rains and snowstorms.

While they were in the high mountains, the flood came to the people along the Missouri River, but, when they reached the old villages, the water had gone down. They came to the camp opposite Yellow Earth Village on the west side and there found the old people they had left building a new village, for they had moved up the river fom Birds Bill Butte. There was another Mandan village just a short distance up the river from Yellow Earth Village on the same side of the river. We called those east-side people Nuptadi in late years, but they came from one of the two east-side villages, I think it was Yellow Earth Village.

During the time they were up to the mountains the three men whose skulls I have were with them. Many years after they came back the three brothers and the sister died. Since Waving Corn Stalk was a woman, her brother had helped her in the ceremonies to the corn, and, since he could not live forever, he taught others the ritual for corn-growing and asked that the people keep his skull when he died, for praying to it would be the same as praying to him. All three brothers were placed on a scaffold when they died. A year later the flesh had all decayed so their skulls were put in the same bundle which became a part of the Corn Medicine. The sister, Waving Corn Stalk, being one of the Spirit Women, became associated with the bundle for the Old Grandmothers.

OLD WOMAN WHO NEVER DIES MYTH
RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR[9]

The Old Woman Who Never Dies formerly lived below the Cannonball River on an island in the ocean, and no one knew there was such a person living there until two young men, Black Medicine and Sweet Medicine, were out hunting. In their wandering, they came to an object on the ground resembling a large baloon. There was a spot on the ground where the ground was bubbling

[9] For a closely related myth see Hidatsa myth concerning visit of two men to Old Woman Who Never Dies in my MS, "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago). Also see Densmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–84, for a portion of this myth related by Ben Benson.

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up. These two hunters shot into it with their arrows, and a strong wind came out of it and blew them far out into the water onto an island. When the wind went down, the two brothers looked about and saw an earth lodge and many whitetail deer near by. The two men went to the earth lodge where they found the Old Woman Who Never Dies, and she was glad to see them. She asked how they got there, and the two brothers told of the big wind that had brought them there.

When they arrived at her lodge, she was making some corn mush, and her spoons were made of clam shells. She had no dishes, so she gave them the pot to eat from. They ate in turn. At first they thought the portion was too small and that there would not be enough, but they ate all they wanted and the pot still remained as full as before they began their meal.

After finishing their meal, they told the Old Woman that they were going out to kill some of the deer, and the Old Woman nodded her consent. They soon saw whitetail deer jumping up everywhere about them, killed two of them, and butchered them for her with their flint knives. They returned with the animals, and the Old Woman expressed her pleasure at their success. She asked them to leave the deer at the door, for she wanted to cut them up for drying and they did. As soon as the boys were inside she told the deer to jump up and run away and to tell all the other deer to stay away from the lodge for a while because the two brothers were good shots.

One day the grandmother told the young men to stay out of sight as it was getting late in the fall, and she was expecting visitors for the winter. The next morning when the waterbirds flew by, the boys saw the Corn Spirits flying to the door of the lodge in groups of two. The young men noticed that all were beautiful women. All were well mannered and timid. Each carried dried meat which was piled in a heap near the center of the lodge saying, "I have come from the northland with your messengers who have shown me the way. Take good care of me or I will die."

Grandmother said, "I will take good care of you and keep you until spring when my messengers go back to the northland for the summer. I will awaken you then and send you back to my people at the Heart River." Then each turned into an ear of seed corn; some were white, others yellow, red, blue, pink, black, or mixed color. She put them away according to their group. The young men saw what had happened and knew that this was the winter home of the Corn Spirits.

The boys stayed around for a while and became homesick; they knew of no way to get home, for they were on an island and everywhere they looked there was water. They thought of fastening logs together for a raft, but the Old Woman said that her grandfather (husband's father) would take them to land. They looked about, but they saw no man. She said, "That is all right; go to the shore this evening and say to the waters 'Grandfather,[10] we want to go home in the morning.' "

The next morning the Old Woman arose early and made four large four-in-one corn balls. They were made of corn, sunflowers, squash, and beans ground together. She gave the two boys the corn balls for their journey would be tiring, since the distance was so great. When the two boys reached the lake shore, they saw a large snake on the water. This serpent had but one eye, which was in the middle of his head. This eye resembled a sunflower very closely except that at times lightning would flash forth. The snake was about thirty feet long and had two large horns resembling deer horns. The Old Woman told the boys to hang onto the horns, sitting on the head while traveling and their grandfather would take them across safely. When ready, the snake started and swam for a long time. When he grew fatigued, the boys gave him one of the corn balls, which refreshed him again. He became fatigued a second and a third time, and each time the two brothers fed him one of the corn balls. Just after giving him the fourth corn ball, the brothers saw land ahead, but the snake did not have strength to complete the journey. One of the brothers thought of some dried meat he had in his pockets and fed this to the snake so he was able to get them safely to the shore. They landed, and the snake disappeared. They thought he went back to the island, swimming under the water.

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[10] One's grandmother's grandfather, man or woman speaking, is also addressed as "Grandfather."

The two men traveled all day and failed to reach home. The second day they traveled until nearly evening when they saw something before them. Coming nearer, they saw that it was a large snake. It was so large they could not climb over and so long that they could not walk around it. They thought the best way would be to burn a hole through it, so they began to gather buffalo chips which they heaped against the snake. When the pile was as high as their heads, they lit the fire. Soon the snake was thoroughly cooked. One of the young men was foolish and suggested to the other that they eat some of the meat, but the wiser one said that it was wrong to do so. Nevertheless, the foolish one ate his fill, remarking to the other that the snake tasted like fish. Still the other would not be tempted.

After finishing his meal, they went through the opening burned in the snake and traveled until dark. They lay down on the prairie to sleep. In the morning the one who ate the snake said something was wrong with his feet. When he removed his moccasins he found that his feet were the same color as the snake's body. He was happy and said, "Now my girl will like me with my pretty feet." The wiser boy thought that something bad would surely come out of it all.

The third night they killed a deer, ate its ribs roasted before the fire, and went to sleep as soon as they had eaten. On awakening the next morning, he found the spots had extended until they were above his knees. The sensible brother was afraid, but the man with the spots thought nothing bad would come of it. The fourth night they camped as before and retired shortly after eating. In the morning the young man's entire body had turned into a snake with one eye just like the snake he had eaten of. His brother was very sad and did not know what to do. He cried aloud, and in a little while the snake spoke to him and said, "Take me down to the river." The other man could not carry him, so he was obliged to crawl. As they traveled toward the river, lightning from the snake's eye set the prairies afire. Finally, they reached the river opposite Birds Bill Butte which were just west of the Missouri River. In parting, the snake said, "My head will be up toward the mouth of the Yellowstone and my tail will be at the Birds Bill Butte. You can tell my people whenever they think about me, to make four corn balls, throw them into the waters, and then pray to me." (I have done this often. People who crossed the river often made these offerings so that the snake would protect them.)

The snake said, "I want you to get me a skunk cap. Make it look pretty.

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When you bring it to the river, tie it to one of the red willows and throw it into the water. I'll be there to receive it."

The young man made a cap as instructed and threw it into the river together with four corn balls. Afterward the young man became prominent in the tribe. He was successful in war and brought back many scalps. When he first came home, he told his friend's father and mother about their son so they would not grieve. The wise young man became the leader of the tribe and had more power than any of them. Every summer he would go down to the river and offer corn balls to his friend. He also told the tribe about his meeting with the Old Woman who was one of the Holy Women.

Years after this all happened, the Old Woman Who Never Dies moved up the river to Holding Eagles just across the river from Elbowoods, where she would spend the summers. The men on the warpath or out hunting found her there, but none seemed to know how she got there. They thought that she came north in spring with the summer birds. She liked buffalo paunch which she dried before preparing it as food. While she lived there, she had a large garden on the river bottoms just below her lodge. There she raised corn, squash, sunflowers, and beans in great quantities.

While she lived there, Sun and Moon, who lived above in the sky, came down to the earth. These two men, Sun and Moon, had a mother who was getting old and feeble.

Moon said to Sun, "Our mother is getting quite old. I think we should marry."

Sun said, "What kind of girl do you want to marry?"

Moon said, "I want to marry a girl from one of those Corn-sheller villages."

Sun said, "Do you like those women?"

"Yes," replied Moon, "they are good-looking women."

Sun said, "You are mistaken. The women have only one eye with wrinkles all over their faces whenever they look at me."

"Well," replied Moon, "what kind of woman do you want to marry?"

Sun said, "A Toad Woman. When they look at me they have such pretty blue eyes."

"Then," said Moon, "you marry a Toad Woman, and I'll get a Mandan girl for my wife."

It was time to marry. Moon came down to get his wife. There was a large summer village on a flat near the woods. Moon transformed himself into a porcupine and climbed up into a young cottonwood tree. Two Mandan girls came into the woods looking for firewood. They saw the porcupine and one said, "Let's get this porcupine." The younger one climbed into the tree. When she came to the porcupine, he went higher. This continued with the tree growing higher until they could see her no longer. Moon changed himself back to a human being and took the girl into his lodge. Juneberries were growing at the door. At the door of Sun's lodge red willows were growing.

Moon said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife." The old woman found the girl and brought her into the lodge.

Then Sun said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife."

The Old Woman went out and could not find anyone. Sun said, "Look under the brush." She looked under the brush and there she found a large toad. The toad hopped up to the door but could not quite jump over the step. She passed water at each jump. At last she got in the lodge.

The mother brought in the two girls and asked them what they wanted to

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eat. The Mandan girl wanted the thin part of the paunch, and the toad wanted the thick part. She cooked the paunch and some dried meat. She gave the thin part to the Mandan girl and the thick part to Toad Woman.

The Old Woman wanted to know which could eat the better and make the loudest crackling noise with her teeth. The Mandan girl had sharp teeth and could eat like a wolf. The toad had no teeth, so she tried to chew charcoal so as to make a noise. Everyone laughed at her. Moon laughed at her, and she became very angry. She jumped from the corner up onto Moon's breast and stuck there. Moon cut her away with his knife and threw her into the fire. Then she jumped on his back between his shoulder blades where he couldn't reach her. The Toad Woman said, "I shall stay here as long as I live." When we see the moon up in the sky, the black spot in the middle is that Toad Woman there still.

Moon had a son by the Mandan girl. The girl did not have much to do, so she went out digging wild turnips. One day she pulled up a large male turnip that has no bloom. In taking it out, she punched a hole through the ground and saw the earth down below where she had come from. Everything looked beautiful there, and then she knew where she belonged. She set about to find some means of getting down. She thought that if she had a long string she could get down to the earth. She told her son to ask his father to get all the sinews of a buffalo when on the hunt. The father wanted to know why his son wanted sinews. The Mandan girl said that they were to be used in her work. Moon went out hunting and brought back all the sinews of the buffalo except a little piece from the hip. Then she had a mouse fashion them into a long rope. However, she could only get to the top of the trees because the sinews from the hip had been left out. Moon came back from hunting and could not find his wife. He looked about for a long time. He finally remembered where his wife had been digging turnips. He found the turnip hole and saw his wife hanging down there on the end of the rope.

When Moon saw this, he looked down at her and said, "I will kill that woman."

He picked up a stone from above and sent it down, instructing it to kill the woman but to spare her son. The stone is still to be found near where Holding Eagles live. The stone hit the girl on the head, killed her, and knocked her down near the edge of Old Woman Who Never Dies' garden.

The Old Woman went out to her garden one day and saw the tracks of a little child. She wondered whether it was a boy or girl, so she made a ball of buffalo skin with a stick to hit it with and also a bow and arrows. She lay in the brush near by and watched. While she was there, a little child came walking that way. He picked up the bow and arrow. He shot at the ball.

After the Old Woman saw this, she knew it was a boy and caught him. She put his face against her breast and coddled him. Then she took him to her lodge and fed him corn mush. Her pot was full of mush which never could be completely consumed. The Old Woman told him that he should have a bow and arrows so that he could kill birds. She told him to take the juneberry branch down to the Short Missouri and say, "Grandfather, make me a bow and arrows."

Then she told him to leave it there and come back, adding, "You can scatter red corn around the fireplace so the blackbirds will come in and eat but don't kill any." The boy did as he was told. Many birds came into the lodge

773 to eat, but he covered up the smokehole and, taking up a stick, killed many of them.

539 After he killed the blackbirds, the Old Woman came home. Grandson said, "Grandmother, see; I have killed all these blackbirds so they won't trouble your garden."

The Old Woman said, "All right," and shooed out the live birds before piling up the dead ones. Then the little boy was told to go down to the Short Missouri and get his arrows and bow. He ran down to the edge of the water and found his bow and arrows, which made him very happy.

Meanwhile, the Old Woman went off for a day. The boy learned that the Old Woman traveled up in the air even though she had no wings and could go anywhere she wanted to. After he got his bow and arrows, he was out hunting every day. He always went to the places where his grandmother told him not to go.

One day she said to him, "You keep away from those hills. Something there will get you."

The boy was very anxious to find out what was there, so he went to the hills. A large elk came out of the hills and ran toward the boy, intending to kill him, but the boy didn't run away. When the elk was near, the boy shot and killed him. Another elk came, and it was the doe.

The boy said, "Stop! I don't want to kill you because you are a doe."

She stopped, and he went up to her and pulled out her front teeth which then were very sharp. He threw away the sharp teeth so that the elk could not bite people. He replaced them with big beans so we have the blunt elk teeth of today. He then butchered the bull and brought the paunch in for his grandmother.

The next day he went out hunting again and went quite a long distance from his grandmother's lodge to the edge of the woods. A large bear came out after him. The little boy said, "Stop or I will kill you," so the bear stopped. In those days bears had very sharp teeth, but the little boy thought that they shouldn't have such teeth. He set to work with a stone and filed down the bear's teeth. He said to the bear, "Take me to my grandmother's lodge," and the bear did.

He called his grandmother and she came. "See here," he said, "I have a servant for you who is strong and can pack heavy loads."

The boy had also taken up some dirt and put in the bear's eyes. Since then the bears haven't been able to see as well as they used to. The grandmother was very surprised to see the boy on the bear's back. She said that she was very glad to have a big dog. After the little boy went into the house she told the bear to leave and turned him loose. The bear went back into the woods again.

The Old Woman had a bed surrounded by curtains of buffalo hide. It was made as they used to in those times. Once a day she would take corn mush in a wooden bowl and put it in the bed. After a while she would take out the plate and it would be empty. The boy noticed this and wondered who was in her bed. One day after the grandmother went away the boy opened the bed and found a snake which was the Old Woman's husband. He took his bow and arrow down and shot the snake. He took him down to the Short Missouri River and threw him into the water.

When the Old Woman came home, the boy told her about killing the snake and told her where he had put it. The Old Woman became afraid of him and suspected that he had greater power than ordinary people.

In the morning she told him not to go into the bunch of box elders some distance from the lodge. When the grandmother went away, he went over there. He found two men there butchering a buffalo cow with a calf in it. The boy thought his grandmother would like the calf, so the men pulled out the buffalo calf and threw it toward the boy. He backed off and climbed into a tree to the very top. The men left the calf at the foot of the tree. They then picked up the rest of the buffalo meat and left.

After the men had been away some time they thought of the boy in the tree, and they went back. They took the boy down; he was thin. The calf was still under the tree. The two men told the boy that the old grandmother was their sweetheart but that she would not have them. They wanted her so they asked the boy to hurry and have the ceremonies so they could "walk" with the grandmother.

In the meanwhile she was looking for the boy because she thought that someone had killed him, but she went by the place without seeing him. The boy came home and told his grandmother what the men had said. She thought that she would find a way to get revenge for the way they had made the boy suffer those four days. She told the boy in advance that at the ceremonies there would be both good and poor bows.

She said, "Take the poorest one they have for that will be the oldest one. It will be the best one, for it can even shoot over a hill and kill things."

When the time came for the medicine doings, she prepared corn balls. They sent for the two men, who came also. Bows and arrows were brought. When the boy selected the old bow, the men said that the boy would be lucky. During the ceremonies, the two men "walked with the grandmother."[11]

The two men were about to return when the Old Woman said, "You caused my grandson to suffer for four days. Now, I am going to make you suffer, too." The men did not pay any attention to her and went away.

The winter set in hard and cold. The men made a good living hunting buffalo and elk until toward spring. The Old Woman said, "Now is the time."

Using her whistle, she caused a severe snowstorm to come. It snowed for four days. The men built a temporary shelter to protect their fire. Soon their wood was gone, and they had no more meat. They thought they would surely die. The grandson came and cried. Then the storm stopped.

Some time later the Old Woman said to her grandchild, "Don't go to that red hill over there."

The boy said he wouldn't, but still he had a desire to go there. Finally he went to the hill. The hill was covered with snakes. He reached their large circular den and went in. He sat on a flat rock in the middle of the den which was like the interior of an eagle-trapping lodge. They talked to him, and he told them stories until nearly daylight. He told them about his life. They went to sleep one at a time. Some of them tried to go under him but the flat rock prevented them. Finally, he said he would tell them a story, for all the snakes were drowsy by that time.

The snakes had poles for pillows. He got up after all were asleep. He took his knife out and cut their heads off. One small snake escaped. The boy chased the snake but could not get him as the snake went into his hole.

After he killed the snakes,[12] he remembered what his grandmother had told him about his family. Then he made up his mind to go home. He started home from the big den and did not return to his grandmother.

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[11] This rite was to bring buffaloes near the villages.

[12] See chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping" for ritualistic observances relating to this snake den.

Finally he reached his mother's village at Heart River. He saw that his people were lean and starving. He said, "What is the matter?" At the same time a party was coming back with the meat. He saw white crows in the air crying, "Pas," causing the meat to turn bitter. The boy said, "I'll fix that."

As soon as the crows said the word, the meat became bitter and could not be eaten. The men then threw the meat away, and the crows ate it. The boy caught two birds, a male and a female. He painted them black and made them change their cry to "Ka." Since then the crows don't cry "Pas" any more.

After that no more meat spoiled. The people of the village did not know who the boy was, but they had heard that he was the grandchild of the Old Woman Who Never Dies.[13]

After he changed the crows' color, the people told him about another bad thing. It was about the dogs. The dogs could talk. They would tell stories to the men about their wives running out at night. They thought that it would be better for the dogs not to be able to talk.

In those days the dogs had mouths like humans. The boy took his knife out and slit their mouths from ear to ear. From then on the dogs could not talk.

After that he left the village and went to another one. When he got there, he found that the people had no mouths, although they had teeth. He walked among them and wondered how they ate enough to live. He saw that the people made very rich corn balls and smelled of them. That was how they lived. He asked them why they had no mouths. They replied that they did not know, for they had been that way all their lives, so he cut all their mouths open so they could eat.

When he was returning to the first village, it rained very hard, and he was wet. He sat on the ground. The little snake had always watched for his chance. He was sitting down when the little snake entered Grandson's body and went up into his entrails. He broke the boy's body in two and then went up into his head. He broke the head from the body and went into the skull. The head rolled down the hill and stopped upside down. There came a heavy rain and filled the skull with water. Then the sun shone very bright, and it became warm. The water warmed and almost came to a boil. This is how hot it was. The snake kept going in and out of the hole [foramen magnum]. Finally the skull caught the snake in the hole and squeezed him. The body came together, and the boy was as before.

In those days the snakes had long noses. The boy took up a rock and filed the nose until it was nearly all worn off. The snake said, "Stop! Otherwise, I'll have no nose."

The boy said, "You must never bite the people or bother them."

The snake agreed, saying, "There will be people with medicine to make the snakes harmless from now on."[14]

Then he went over to a little hole and said to the boy, "I won't do any harm to anyone unless he hurts me or tries to catch me." Then he went down his hole. Since then the rattlesnakes haven't bitten people unless disturbed.

The boy came back to the first village and became a great man and leader. He was able to make the buffaloes come close to the village whenever he

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[13] He is No'hąka Tawi'hąka of the Okipa ceremony.

[14] This was the mythological basis for Snake-curing bundles.

wanted to, so that the people always had meat. He had good luck on the 773
battlefield and could bring rains for the crops.

Then he was married. Two sisters were brought to him by their father and 539
mother. (This was the custom in olden times. The parents of children of marriageable age would bring them to some eligible man.)

The boy's grandmother is still living. The people downstream from the Knife River used to follow the river up to her place when on the warpath and eat corn with her. She would tell them now many people they would kill.

She became tired of this because they came too often, so she moved down the river about four miles, then up into the hills to the west where she disappeared. Since then she has been one of the Holy Women connected with corn. She must come back to Short Missouri, as people fasting there during the summer dream of her. Grandson went back to the sky and became one of the large stars.

CORN PIPE CEREMONY

This ceremony became extinct after 1837 and is remembered 796
only from tradition. The principal article in its bundle was a 778
sacred wooden pipe. The pipe was kept by Blue Snake Woman when her husband and children died during the smallpox epidemic. She surrendered the bundle to a daughter, who sold the pipe to Black Bear, who died a few years ago. The full bundle ritual was not performed after the smallpox epidemic, since those holding rights or acquainted with the ceremony had died.

The pipe was noted for its supernatural powers in producing 778
winds. It was brought out when the days were warm and sultry 821
to drive away the mosquitoes, so that women would not suffer from their bites while in the gardens. People were not permitted to climb on the lodge in which it was kept. If it was dropped or touched, the wind would blow.

According to tradition, a woman went to the Missouri River 778
for water when the river was at flood stage. Driftwood was float- 773
ing down. When she dipped up the water, she saw the pipe and an ear of yellow flint corn together in the water. She took the pipe and corn home and gave them to her husband, who called all the holy men to tell them of her discovery. They were afraid of the pipe because a high wind came up when one dropped it and did not want to keep it. They put it back in the water, thinking it would float on wherever it was going to. The woman found the pipe and corn four times at four different places where they camped. The holy men concluded that, since they had tried to get rid of it but it kept following them, it should be kept. They thought the corn should be divided among the families. In that way yellow flint corn was introduced in the tribe.

796 villages on the east bank of the Missouri River. The method of
773 acquiring this sacred lore is characteristic of most Mandan-
776 Hidatsa bundles, but the particular spirits participating and the
contributions made by each is characteristic solely of eagle-trapping. The chief spirit contributors were Old Black Bear, Coyote, Snake, Buffalo, Young Eagle, and Little Black Bear.

796 Old Black Bear taught Black Wolf these songs: (1) song to the
773 lodge (sung when building the lodge); (2) song to the sweat
776 lodge (sung when the sweat lodge was being built and when it
533 was being used); (3) song to the bait; (4) song to the pit;
(5) song to the snare; (6) song to the goose; (7) song to the swan; (8) song to the little bear; and (9) song to the bear.

Coyote taught the following song:

My old one [illegible] autumn
here I go (come to) Your power is strong.

The snakes contributed a song to be used when making offerings to the snake poles, since they belonged in the ceremony because Grandson once visited the bears while the ceremony was in progress.[6]

Buffalo[7] asked to come along and he contributed this song:

Lodge we have come lodge they have come

The *ma-si* eagle taught this song:

Earth above I am walking
Earth on I am walking

773 Several versions of the origin of eagle-trapping were recorded
•539 during this study, and they were all essentially alike. Ben Benson, who had secured his rights from Iron Eyes, his father, supplied the following origin myth of eagle-trapping.

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK WOLF)
RELATED BY BEN BENSON[8]

A long time ago the Mandan did not know how to catch eagles or how to do many of the things they learned to do in later years. In one of the villages there was a young man by the name of Black Wolf who never went far from home. He preferred to stay around camp where he could dress up in fine clothes and call on all the girls. The active young men who were always out away fom the village hunting and fighting the tribe's enemies did not like the way he spent his time with the girls of the village. One night he was sitting under the corn scaffold in front of a young girl's lodge when an old man, one of the announcers of the village, went from house to house calling the names of the best runners of the tribe. He asked that these young men go out in search of the buffalo herds.

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[6] Cf. my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago), for myth of Grandson visiting the Snakes, which slept with their heads on two poles and on opposite sides of the fire in Red Butte; cf. also above for the myth of Grandson, son of the Moon, in chap. vi, on "The Corn Ceremonies."

[7] A bundle containing a buffalo bull skull occupied major bundle status.

[8] For other relations of this myth by Ben Benson see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 64–69, and Martha

When this man came near where Black Wolf was sitting, he arose and went to the man and said, "I want to go. Won't you call my name so I can go?"

The announcer replied, "We have only selected good runners who have a good reputation in the tribe." Black Wolf only asked that his girl might hear him and not because he really wanted to go out in search of the herds. The announcer said, "Young man, come to the lodge where we meet and tell when you want to go."

Black Wolf went to the lodge, and the young men decided to go out at once. Their village was Yellow Earth Village,[9] and they set out in a northerly direction. It was dark when they left. The others saw that Black Wolf was with them and did not like it, for he was always with their girls, and, besides, he did not know the country they were traveling through. One of the hunters said, "We'll give him a good run," so they ran two or three miles, then walked a short distance, after which they ran again. Since they were afoot, Black Wolf soon became tired and lagged far behind. A little before daybreak the leader of the hunters halted the party to sleep for a short time. Black Wolf went sound asleep, and, when he awoke, the others had gone on. "Let him sleep," they had said as they started out. The day was foggy, and Black Wolf did not know where to go, for he had never been so far from home before. He called to the others, but nobody replied. The fog lifted in the middle of the day, and he found that he was far to the north. He walked along and each time he came to a buffalo skull, he took off some of the fine clothes he had been wearing when he went to see the girls until he was naked. Each article of clothing he offered to the buffaloes. He came to some buckbrush and lay down in it looking up into the sky. While there a beautiful calumet eagle[10] came above him, and the boy thought of his father who often shot them. While he was watching the eagle, he saw it come down to the ground and light. Suddenly the eagle disappeared from sight and something black came out of the ground and walked away. He wanted to know what all this meant, so he walked over to the spot where the eagle was seen to disappear. He found an eagle pit with a dim trail leading away from it. He followed the trail leading away from the ravine to a spring of clear water, near which he saw a round grass lodge. The

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Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 206–14. The latter work also includes a version of the myth related by Bears Arm (below, Appendix IV). Another version of the myth by Wolf Chief is reported by George H. Pepper and Gilbert L. Wilson, *An Hidsata Shrine and the Beliefs Respecting It* ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," Vol. II [1907–15]), pp. 306–18.

[9] One of the east-side villages north of Bismarck known today as the Bourgeois or Double Ditch site.

[10] The eagle with white tail feathers and black tips.

lodge had been made by sticking green poles in the ground in the form of a circle and bending them over at the top so that the lodge was like half a ball. Each pole was less than half the length of a man's foot apart, and the spaces between were filled with grass so that from the outside only the grass could be seen.[11]

On reaching the grass lodge, he saw eagle tail feathers hanging everywhere about the outside of the lodge. Inside he heard someone moving, and then a voice said, "You should bring the firewood."

Someone came out and saw Black Wolf standing there. He went inside and said, "Black Wolf is out there."

Another voice said, "Tell him to come in."

Someone came to the door and said, "Come in."

There was a little fellow in there, and he said, "Sit beside your younger brother." They cooked tender fat meat, and there was plenty of fresh water and dried meat, so that all had enough to eat. There were many people there, and they lived chiefly on young eagles. These people were the little bears. The black ones belonged on the left side and the brown ones on the right.[12]

Next morning someone called, "There is a good wind; the wind is from the right direction."

The little boy dressed and said, "I must go out catching eagles." All the others in the house left, leaving Black Wolf alone all day. When evening came, the little boy returned with an eagle.

Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, I want to go with you next time; it is too lonesome here alone."

The little boy said he would ask his father. The father said, "You may go with him, but you should be very careful."

Next morning they went out, and Black Wolf went with them. The little boy and Black Wolf both climbed into the pit. Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, when the eagles come, let me catch one."

He replied, "That is what father meant when he said for you to be careful. You must be very quick."

The little boy had been catching them by sticking his hand out as bait, and, when the eagle came down, he had been seizing it with the other hand. "This time you better be quick," the little boy warned, "for my hand is out." A bald-headed eagle was coming down; they are hard to catch. Before Black Wolf caught the eagle, it had stuck its claws through the little boy's wrists. Black Wolf pulled the eagle into the pit and took the claws out of the little boy's hand, but the pain was so severe that he cried and went home. Black Wolf walked right behind him, crying too, he felt so sorry for his little brother.

As they walked, Black Wolf saw a pretty leaf and dug to the roots of the plant to get the black sweet roots to chew and put on the wounds, thinking it might help the boy's hand. This root was Black Medicine.[13] He put the root which he chewed up onto the boy's hand, and it felt better immediately. The little boy was happy to be relieved of the pain, and the father inquired of Black Wolf where he found the material, for he wanted to gather some to keep near in case eagles should seize anyone again.

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[11] This type lodge appears frequently in Mandan mythology, but there is no record of its use in any of the recorded expeditions.

[12] This represents the mythological distribution of trapping sites with the Black Bears on the east bank of the Missouri River and the Brown Bears on the right bank.

[13] The introduction of Black Medicine to the ceremony illustrates native belief of the development of a ceremony. Even ceremonial founders draw elements from other sources.

In a few days the little boy's hand was well again. Black Wolf was sitting on top of a hill when the little boy came to him and asked why he was sitting there alone. Black Wolf said, "I am lonesome for my people. At this time of day we had such good times at Yellow Earth Village. I am homesick."

The little boy promised to speak to his father about it. The father said he could go any time he wished, and the boy came back with the news to Black Wolf.

"If father asks you when you want to go, say 'Now,' for 'Tomorrow' means one year from now." The father said he could go in the morning.

Early in the morning the three awakened and dressed. After eating, the father said, "You two boys go out to the side of the lodge and pick the best feathers you can find there." The boys found many good eagle feathers and soon had a bag full of them. The father asked that two bunches of sage he brought and divided into two equal piles and he gave each pile to Black Wolf. He said, "Go south until you come to the highest place. Go up there and put one bunch of sage on the ground and step on it; put the other bunch one step ahead, and step on that, reaching back for the bunch behind you. Step that way four times, and the fourth time you will look ahead of you and see your village."

Black Wolf went south toward the highest hill, where he put the sage down as he had been directed and stepped ahead four times. When he looked up, he was near home, and the sun was just going down. He thought he would stay outside the village until it was dark and then go in.

The old man eagle-trapper had told Black Wolf that, when he arrived home, the chief would bring his two daughters to him to take as his wives. "When you are married to them, come over and see us. Bring one wife.[14] Go a little ways from camp and step on the sage just as I told you, and you will be here at once."

The little brother had said to him after they went to bed the last night, "My father says you will come back. When you come here cry, 'My father, I want a stuffed animal' and keep saying that over and over." The father had heard them talking and asked them to be quiet and go to sleep, but the little boy said that they were only talking about the brother's trip home the next day.

After dark Black Wolf went into the village and walked to his father's lodge, which he found closed. He called, "Father, I am home."

The man said, "Who can that be talking?" The boy had been away so long that he had been nearly forgotten. The father opened the door, saw Black Wolf, put his arms around his boy's neck and fainted. The mother come to the door, saw her son, and fainted also. Soon the parents regained their senses. A bright fire was built up and the boy put the package down. In the meanwhile, the father went through the village calling, "My son whom we thought dead is home." They opened the package and found many fine eagle tail feathers in it. The chief's son was there and saw all the fine feathers. He went home at once and told his father about it, for the young man had longed for a fan made of eagle feathers.

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[14] This would be the older wife, as she was first to partake in the ceremonies.

The chief said, "If you want a fan, it is best that you let your sisters marry the man."

The young son replied, "You can attend to that better yourself."

The chief ordered his wives to cook some of the best dried meat and corn before inviting Black Wolf in. The two daughters had a bed decorated with porcupine quill flaps.

The chief said, "Sit down there beside your wives. Now get out one of those robes for him to wear." The girls brought out a beautiful white buffalo robe decorated on the skin side with purcupine quills.

Black Wolf thanked them and said, "I am going to take this robe to my other father," and they knew then that he had some other spirits, holy people, somewhere.

Black Wolf walked out on top of the lodge and called, "My fathers, the Northern Black Bears, I have a beautiful white robe here for your bedding." His own father heard all about it and went to his own lodge where he inquired of his wife the number of tanned buffalo robes on hand. The wife thought there were thirty-five or forty. The husband said that he wished to use them. He also asked his parents[15] to furnish robes until, in all, he had a pile of nearly one hundred robes. He invited his son to eat with him and invited all the important men of the village to be there. Then he presented all the robes to the young son, who went onto the roof and offered them to his "spirit" father.

Before leaving Black Bear's lodge, the little boy had said, "When you come back, bring a large corn ball and a wooden medicine pipe filled with tobacco. When you get to the door keep crying, 'I want a stuffed animal.' Keep crying until he lets you in. Let your wife go in first and stand before him. If he says you get a stuffed animal, that is all there is to it."

Black Wolf said to his oldest wife, "We go to the north in four days." When the four days were up, they started. The wife had a corn ball made of four-in-one [corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash]. She carried the corn ball, and he had the pipe. When they reached the highest hill, he gathered four bunches of sage, giving two to his wife and keeping two for himself. He told her the way she should step from one to the other four times. Soon they were before the grass lodge, but the sun was setting so they had traveled all day.

He began to cry, "I want a stuffed animal," repeating it over and over until the old man inside said, "You shall have it." Black Wolf sent his wife in ahead, telling her to stand before the old man. He carried in the corn ball and pipe and put them before the old man.

The old man said, "Sit down. We will fix this up some time later." Black Wolf sat beside the one he called younger brother. The old man took the corn ball and pipe. The pipe was passed around three times before it was lit. Then the little boy said he would light it and eat the corn ball. He broke the corn ball in two, kept half and gave the other half to the others.

They smoked and food was cooked for them to eat. At last the old man said, "You will go home in the morning. After four days at home you must make a sweat lodge of sticks with a pit in the center. Have rocks and water at hand and find an old tepee cover to go over the framework of sticks. All those you see in this lodge will be there. I will tell you what you have to do in the future. Have plenty of food ready. The robes you have prepared must be hung beside the sweat lodge. Before you go home, take your little brother over the hills and tickle him; he will go to sleep at once. You want a stuffed animal. After the boy has gone to sleep, skin out his hind legs and pull the skin over his head but do not cut any of the bones. Stuff the skin and bring it here and put it before me where I am sitting."

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[15] Parents also included all men of the father's clan and their wives.

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He did as he was told. Then he returned to his own village with his wife and the little boy.

Black Wolf began to prepare for Old Black Bear's visit. Everything was in readiness just as directed by the Bears. Just before the Bears started, Coyote, the First Creator, came to the Bears and said, "My friends, you aren't going to leave me, are you? You can't leave without me. I will be the one to teach the people how to kill the enemy and strike the coups."

"All right, we'll take you and you can walk with our son's [Black Wolf's] wives.

A large grizzly bear came and said, "Why can't I go along? I can do a lot of work in those ceremonies. I will be the waiter."

Then the buffalo bull came and he said, "I will let buffaloes out around the village. I must go because I will be useful to the people over there."

The snakes, the eagles, and the coyotes wanted to go, and Old Black Bear agreed to take them all.

Just before starting, Old Black Bear said, "We will fix up something for our son, Black Wolf." All were ready to go and just outside the grass lodge Old Black Bear sang a song, and all the others knew it and sang it with him. While they were singing the song, Black Wolf far away heard it and knew that the Old Black Bears were coming.

It didn't take them long to get there. They stopped once and sang the song, went a ways farther and sang again, then still farther and sang. The fourth time they were at the village. Black Wolf saw them and came out with his wife, carrying a large corn ball and the wooden pipe filled with tobacco. He put the corn ball and pipe before the Old Black Bear. Old Black Bear picked up the corn ball and pipe, and returned it to Black Wolf. The party presented Black Wolf with a buffalo skull, and his wife walked[16] with it toward their lodge, the others walking behind. She also had the stuffed animal which represented the little brother, and Old Black Bear gave them two green poles representing the Snakes which always went with the birds.

Meanwhile the sweat lodge was ready and the rocks heated. Old Black Bear said, "My son, watch everything we do. We are tired so we must go in the sweat." The animals put the rocks in and went inside. Black Wolf, from the outside, listened to the song the animals sang in the sweat, which was the sweat-lodge song.

Those are medicine	take of them	a part (portion)
take of them	they are holy	

All this meant that Black Wolf and Little Boy had trapped for eagles, and the little boy had hurt his hand. Black Wolf had taken the medicine of the Black Medicine to cure the wounds. It was of this root that the animals were singing.

When they finished the song, they prayed to the animals, and, after pouring water on themselves, came out and said to Black Wolf, "You see how we

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[16] This act made the woman daughter-in-law to the buffaloes.

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fixed the sweat lodge; when we come out, we are not tired. You can doctor[17] and cure people with the sweat-lodge baths." This was the first sweat lodge, and this story tells how the first sweat lodges came to the Mandan.

After the animals came out of the sweat lodge, they sat down in a circle while Old Black Bear instructed Black Wolf in the technique of catching eagles. Old Black Bear said, "My son can catch eagles from the top of his lodge or he can go out on the prairies. It is better to go out on the prairies; there dig a hole on the side or top of the hill. The hole should be so deep that when you sit up your head will just reach the top of the pit. The pit must be long enough to allow you to stretch out in, and you must face to the west, where the eagles come from in the fall of the year." Then Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf the ritual to follow and the restrictions necessary to catch the birds. First Creator was there and taught Black Wolf how to use the Little Black Bear when on the hunt or warpath.

Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf instructions in the use of fish traps, how the corral of willows should be tied, which baits to use, and the depth in the water to set the trap. When making the trap, Little Black Bear [stuffed animal] should be kept at home in a bed of robes and calicoes with his face to the fireplace. He taught the use of the snare for corraling buffaloes.

When Old Black Bear was giving the instructions to Black Wolf, he had said, "Take good care of your little brother; give him corn balls and corn mush every day."

One day Black Wolf's mother-in-law, while making mush for Little Black Bear, burned her hands and was very angry. She said, "Every day I cook for that sharp-nosed bear, and what good does it do?" Little Black Bear heard and cried because the remarks hurt his feelings. She brought the mush to Little Black Bear and set it before him. In the evening Black Wolf came in and walked right up to his little brother. He saw the tears in his younger brother's eyes and noticed that the little fellow had not eaten the food set before him. Black Wolf inquired why he had not eaten the food, and Little Black Bear replied, "I am angry. Mother-in-law is cross with me and she called me 'sharp-nose.' I am going back to my people, the Black Bear people."

Black Wolf sat down beside him and begged him to stay. "I don't say bad things about you, neither do my wives, so why be angry."

Little Black Bear said, "I will stay if you stay all night with me without sleeping." Black Wolf agreed to the proposition and asked his wives to make up a big feast, for he was inviting all the old men to spend the night with him and Little Black Bear. The old people were glad to sit up all night with him. They sat up all night until nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. Still they stayed until it was nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. He did this three times. The fourth time the old people all lay sleeping except Black Wolf, who was sitting up sleeping by that time. Seeing that his brother was sleeping, Little Black Bear got up, and quietly returned home to the Black Bears in the north. Black Wolf woke up and saw his brother in his usual place and spoke to him. Little Black Bear did not answer, for his soul or spirit had gone back even though the body remained there.

When Little Black Bear reached home, his father asked why he had returned, and Little Black Bear replied, "She called me names. I left my body,

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[17] The bears were believed to be the greatest doctors.

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and the power is still there with it. They can still use me in catching the eagles, but I will not have to live where I am insulted." 539

The following narrative by Wolf Chief was a part of both his father's and his father-in-law's bundles and comes from the Mandan. The division of the bears into two groups representing two sides of the Missouri River is symbolic of the moiety division of the tribe into an east-side and a west-side seating arrangement for council meetings and the Okipa ceremony. The myth expresses the potency of the snare and gives the traditional origin of a number of songs and rites. 778 773 539

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK AND BROWN BEARS) RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[18]

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In the beginning all the Black Bears were said to be living on the north side of the earth, while on the south side were the small Brown Bears. All the bears on the left side of the river, from the Yellowstone and beyond, even down to Knife River, belonged to the Black Bears. The Brown Bears on the right side of the river would know ahead of time the main trails of the eagles and get there ahead of the others from the left bank. There was a place called One Cottonwood Camp, where the Yellowstone runs into the Missouri River. When the birds traveled, they always came through that country. At that time the Black Bears were catching young eagles there and would eat them, for they were tender. They caught only that kind, for they liked to eat them.

Brown Bear called himself the real spirit. He had so much power that he did not have to use bait but could use his own hands to catch them. He selected his place called Thunder Butte where he went to catch the birds by hand. One of the Brown Bears had selected his place, at the Knife River south of the town of Golden Valley where the brush runs to the east, to catch only black tips. He called it Sand Lodge from the sand stones around there. There was another place at Heart River called Heart River Ravine.

On the north side the Black Bears had a trapping place called First Trapping Camp, the highest butte just below Sanish. (The Hidatsa Four Bears used to trap there.) Another place was at Buckbrush Trapping Camp, the flat west of the Mormon church just below Shell Creek. They put up a trap there, for they saw many eagles. The pits were in the hills at The Slides and to the north; another trapping place was below Fishhook to the east on the high banks, and they called it High Butte Trapping Camp. We do not know if it was Sandy Lodge, Thunder Butte, or One Cottonwood that he had his lodge close to.

Brown Bear had a lodge in one of these places. He lost his little boy from one of these lodges. When he disappeared, they looked all over. It was foggy, and they could not see a long distance or find his tracks. After a while they learned that the eagles had hidden the boy. They went far away looking, but it was foggy all the time until they came to the Heart River east of Dickinson. There they thought they had discovered his tracks along the edge of the

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[18] For portions of this myth, also related by Wolf Chief, see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 156 and 214–16.

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creek. They thought according to the tracks that he was going to Rainy Buttes; sometimes the tracks were plain, other times dim. The father thought when he came near the butte that they were hiding his son inside the butte. Before reaching the Rainy Buttes, the tracks disappeared. They looked all the way around the butte, and his father said, "I am sure that they must have taken him inside of this butte; I am going to cut this butte down and destroy it. I am going to use my snare to put around it and pull the butte to pieces to see if we can find him inside." Before putting the snare around the butte, he sang a holy song:

Acira Acira goes toward the butte.

Then he put the snare (calls it medicine robe) around the butte and pulled. He caved off about half of the butte, but he did not have the power to tear it all down. Still he did not find him in there. He went all over the earth looking around, but still the boy could not be found. At last the boy had been gone for a year, and the parents were very sad. They came back to their camp, and the fog still covered the sky, sometimes clearing slightly and then darkening. All this time Brown Bear's boy was trying to clear the fog, but he was not powerful enough. At this time the young one was alone. The fog was beginning to break, and he could see far. The leaves were taking on color; he remembered his father and mother and knew that it was at this time of the year that his father and mother had a good time. He remembered himself and could tell where he came from, and he knew the location of the camp. As soon as he recognized the place, he sang his holy song while walking toward his home.

I will come to that hill.

Then he came to the hill. He saw timber ahead. He sang:

I will reach that big timber.

He was there at once. He saw the Missouri River.

I will reach that river.

He was there. Then he saw a road and he sang:

I will reach that road.

He was there. Then he saw the door and he sang:

I will reach that door.

He was there at once.

The father was feeling sad about it and was going to do something to the birds for punishment. He went to Eagle Butte and went into a pit. He would spit on his hand and hold it out. The eagles would come down, and he would seize them. Sometimes the eagles would fly up nearly to the sky, and then he would hold up his holy snare. Then the eagles would come right down. After that all these places were good ones to catch eagles. The Brown Bears would have a lodge. One with a son had more power than the others. He would take out his snare, and that would draw the birds down. They would say that he was the most powerful one in the lodge.

They were supposed to leave for the traps when the leaves began to change color. The Brown Bears had one lodge. The youngest one wanted to go trapping, but the father said that he was too young. Still he insisted that he knew the holy songs and their order, so he went out without the father's permission. He was in a hole watching the eagles, and while there he went to sleep. The

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eagles picked him up and took him away. All that time on the eagles' side there was a leader who said when he picked up the little bear, "He is sleeping down there; this is a good chance to take him away." This bird was a large one, the largest of the birds. The little brown bear's father wondered what had become of him and went out the second day to see. When he came to the pit, he saw from the signs that the birds had picked him up and carried him into the sky. When he learned this, he came back and was very sad. He thought that he would catch the leader among the birds, the one who caused his son to be caught. He made plans at once to catch the bird. At his lodge there were five of these small brown bears, but one was the leader.

The old one said, "I will try to catch that big bird, for that is the one who took the boy above. I think that bird will come along about tomorrow or the next day." The leader of the Brown Bears stood up and said, "That big bird has started already," and when he went outside he sang:

Where I have my trap it is already; catch the one I want to.[19]

He said to the older bears, "I will go out, repeating that song on the way to the pit. When I bring that bird in, you repeat that song, take the bird, and throw it to the head of the lodge as hard as you can."[20] He went into the hole, and soon the big bird was in the air above him. He pretended to be asleep, and the bird came down. He picked up his snare and sang the holy songs. When the bird was near, he threw his snare up, caught the bird by the legs, and pulled him down. When he caught the bird, it began to beg saying, "Save my life."

Brown Bear said, "No, I am going to sit on you," meaning that he was going to eat the bird. He tied the bird up and carried him home. When he was near the lodge he cried:

I am trapping. I am holy. I know I am
I am trapping. I have caught him
I am trapping. Now I know I am going to eat.

He came back to the lodge and gave the bird to the others to seize and throw as hard as they could to the head of the lodge. All that time the bird was begging them not to kill him, but the bear who caught the bird said, "Do not listen to him but get that clay pot ready to put in the fire for we will eat him."

The bears were singing while they were getting ready. They sang:

Put that pot in the fire. We will eat.
Take your knife out and get ready. We will eat.

The bird said, "I will be with you and be a great help in the future. I know that you have much power, for I can see that. If you have my help, you will have still more power."

They sang:

Acira [Small Brown Bear] your pot moves toward the fire.
Your pot is already in the fire.
Acira your pot is boiling.
Acira your pot is nearly red hot.
Acira your pot is boiling.

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[19] Song of the pit.

[20] This explains the practice of throwing the birds violently to the head of the lodge.

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At this time they decided to sing their holy song which was the Knife Song to be used when butchering the bird. The bird jumped up again and promised that he would be among them forever and that he would help them along, too, and give them success in the future in whatever they should do. They asked of the bird, "How would you help us?"

The bird said, "You will call me Acira's sister; you will pick up any kind of stick and tie a small offering of leather to it, and that will be myself. When you want to get more eagles, you can say a prayer to me, and you will succeed, for I am the leader of these birds. This will go on forever, but, if you kill me, you will eat me up, and then you will have nothing to show. It may be in the future that some woman will have monthlies. The eagles are afraid of them then. There is a holy song[21] that I will teach you, and, if there is such a woman, you will have it to protect you. Then you will not have bad luck but get good luck from the eagles."

They said to the bird, "We will take your word for it, but we will give you orders that in the future you must not claw the humans, for if you do, we will get rid of you and kill all of you."

They said among themselves, "We will let the bird go, but we will put the snare around its neck with black medicine. If he disobeys what we say, having the snare around his neck, we have a chance to sit on him [eat him] again."

The leader said to the bird, "Remember what we said and do not scratch any of the people, for we are going to trap for a long time in the future. We do not want any trouble from you."

This was kept up for a long time until a few years ago.

Even in my time if some woman with monthlies did not report it, the tail feathers were poor.

On the east side at The Slides, in the brush, there were about thirty black bears who had trapping places on the high hills from Lucky Mound to Joe Black Bear's home today. They had another pit in the buckbrush west of where the church is, for they saw many eagle feathers around there and thought it would be a good thing to have a trap. This pit near the buckbrush was the best of all, and they decided that, instead of using them all, they would take turns at that pit; the first man caught five eagles and the others stayed on the butte to watch. Eagles would fly over there and then disappear in the ground. Five birds would be caught there nearly every day. They used the pit for two years and hardly used the others at all, for so few birds were caught in them. They came back to try the trap again and did not succeed, so they thought that someone had spoiled it. All the time they were cleansing themselves, and then they went to the pit to see what was the matter. They cleaned out the pit and found a flint knife in it and knew at once that the bad luck was caused by the knife. The leader cleaned the pit, but still they did not succeed. They watched the sky and saw that the birds would go into the air and fly around, then go away. Even the others were having bad luck. After catching only two eagles, they decided to give up. They do not know who spoiled the pit. After all the acira had gone away the people had pits there, and they never learned why the pit was not as good as formerly.

I never heard what became of the little boy.

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[21] Song for menstruating woman. See the account of Bears Arm, below, Appendix IV.

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> Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small
> Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. 539 ●
> He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23]

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked 778
differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The 223
former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from 171
individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single
instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the 425
instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son.

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected 778
by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it 425
was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that re-
lationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the 171
relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father.

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for 423
several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother 223
before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook 778 425

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[22] He means the principal bundle.

[23] See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

796 THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four
173 groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet
eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

796 The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunder-
821 bird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in
these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

796 There were two principal bundles appertaining to the cere-
779 mony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow
773 (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Med-
icine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan)
[614] came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prai-
rie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans.

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

773 BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

539 This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

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[1] For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53–62.

by different mothers were named Black Medicine, after a root used to cure scratches from eagle claws or bites from rattlesnakes, because he was made of black medicine, and Grows in Lee Places, after a brown plant. The older boy, Black Medicine, was sensible; the other one was a little foolish and did not respect people or think anything was holy. Both were good hunters and went out often.[2]

One day Black Medicine said, "Let's go out hunting; we have not been out for a long time. If we kill a fat elk or buffalo, we can have a fine meal." The other agreed, so they went out and soon killed a deer. They cooked the meat and enjoyed themselves eating it. They went on and killed another, which they carried along until it was all eaten. They were surprised to find no more game, however far they traveled. Soon they came to a timbered coulee and saw smoke. They knew someone lived there, so they went in the direction of the smoke. They found the smoke coming out of a grass lodge, but, when they reached the door, a man walked out with something on his back without paying any attention to the two hunters. The two brothers could not understand that but walked into the lodge. The entire interior of the lodge was fixed up with fresh grass to lie on, while ribs, tongues, and legs were roasting beside the fire. The two sat down and waited for someone to appear. They waited a long time, and nobody came.

The foolish one said, "What is the use of sitting here? Let's eat this."

Black Medicine replied, "No, the owner will come back."

The foolish one was very hungry and, never respecting others anyway, said, "I am too hungry; I am going to eat."

When he had eaten nearly all the meat, Black Medicine ate what remained. They found water in a bag and drank of it.

They slept comfortably in the grass lodge until morning. Before leaving, they picked the bones from any meat they could find and left. As they were leaving, the foolish one asked, "Who can that fellow be who paid no attention to us? He went to the southeast. We should go that way and see who he is."

They went in that direction and hunted a little but could see no game of any kind. They traveled until the sun was low. They were on a high bluff overlooking a deep ravine when they saw the smoke again. They went in the direction of the smoke, and, when they reached the grass lodge, the same man with something on his back passed them without looking at them or speaking.

The foolish one said, "This is just the same as yesterday, and he isn't going to come back." The foolish one took his meat and turned it over once to brown it a little, but left some for the morning. They slept in the lodge and next morning ate all that was left. One of the young men said, "We will go after this man, for it looks like something will happen to us."

This day they looked only for the man who behaved so queerly. When the sun was low, they came to a deep ravine and saw smoke below them; then the grass lodge came into sight. One of the young men said, "That man smells us before we get to his place. That is why he leaves." So they studied the winds and came up against the wind until they were close. One brother said, "We must go up quietly and try to get as close as possible. When he comes out, we can seize him."

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[2] The two brothers, one wise and the other foolish, suggest the Two Men of Hidatsa mythology and the First Man and Foolish One exploits of the Mandan Okipa ceremony.

They crept up quietly, one on each side of the door, and, when he came out with the bundle on his back, they seized him. The bundle was thrown to the ground, making such a noise that people a long distance away could hear it. The bundle burst, and deer, buffalo, elk, antelope, and all the big animals ran all over the earth. The two men knew then that he was the one who had been holding the game in his power. The man ran away, and nobody knew who he was. The two brothers said there would be plenty of game the next morning.

In the grass lodge that the mysterious man had deserted so quickly they found plenty of meat to eat, so they remained there overnight and went on in the morning. They saw all the big animals that had been freed, and the hunting was good. All at once they saw something white on the ground. It was bubbling up, and the foolish one shot into it with his arrows; then they went on. Soon they saw a big white cloud coming [a tornado]. It was making a loud noise and with it was a strong wind. Black Medicine said to his brother, "Come to me." He tied the two of them together with the sinews of their bows. The winds took them into the air, and they did not know where they were until they passed the river where the Arikara grow corn [Grand River, South Dakota]. The foolish one did not think it a bad place to be, for up in the air, at least, they did not have to walk. Evening came, and Black Medicine sang his medicine song. Then the wind went down, letting them descend to earth again. They found themselves on an island among many islands with water as far as they could see.

They looked about and one said, "What can we do now? Here we are on a small island with water everywhere, but there seems to be plenty of game to eat." They did not hunt that night but went to sleep at once, for they were tired from their ride through the air.

The next morning they did not know what to do. Black Medicine said, "Let's go along the edge of the water and see what this island is like." Soon they came to a well-used path and knew that someone lived on the island. The path led to a large earth lodge, and they saw the cornfields and gardens on all sides of them. They came to the earth lodge and walked in, where they found only an old woman [Old Woman Who NeverDies] who was glad to see them. She said, "Here are my two grandchildren, sons of Chief Bird. Have you come to see me?"

They told her of the wind, and she said, "You boys can stay here, for I think you are hungry. Help yourselves to that mush." The boys did not think there would be enough, and she read their thoughts, saying, "Stir it up." The vessel was full again. They ate most of the mush and stirred the balance up again.

After they had been on the island two days they thought they should do some hunting. They did not go far until they saw a white-tail buck and shot it. The animal was butchered where it fell and then they presented it to Old Woman. She said, "You boys did well; eat it. I don't eat that kind of food myself; I eat only antelope and buffalo. I will take the deer outside and make dried meat of it."

When she got the deer outside, she said to the animal, "Get up now and run away. Don't come near, for those boys are good hunters."

When she returned to the earth lodge, she said to the boys, "If you kill white-tail deer, don't bring the meat here; cook it out in the woods and eat what you want, for the white-tail deer look after my gardens for me." After that they ate the meat in the woods. Sometimes they would stay out in the woods as long as three days at a time.

One day Old Woman told them not to go out hunting that day but to hide near the wall of the lodge and be quiet. Soon they heard the noise of two people coming in; then some more people came in. Looking out from under their robes, the two boys saw that the visitors were all women. Each woman had brought in dried meat which was heaped in a pile. As the meat was put on the pile, each woman would say, "My leader, take good care of me and give me this."

One woman had something in her robe and wouldn't show it. The others asked her what she had, and she said, "I have something here but it isn't very good. That is why I don't like to show it." She took it out and it was an earthen pot full of cooked corn and buffalo-foot cords. The others said, "That is good food." The boys observed everything carefully, learning that these women were the corn who had turned themselves into humans.

After the women finished talking, the Old Woman Who Never Dies said, "I am so glad each of you brought me something. I am going to keep you until spring,[3] and I will take good care of you." When she said that, each woman turned into an ear of seed corn, and Old Woman put them away in different places according to the kind of corn they were. She took the meat to use during the winter.

One day the boys were sitting quietly gazing out across the water when their grandmother asked them why they were so quiet. They told her that they were lonesome and could see that they had no way of going home. She said, "I am glad you have come to visit me. You get ready to go home tomorrow. I will fix you up a meal of four-in-one corn balls. [Four-in-one corn balls were made of ground corn, beans, and sunflowers, to which boiled squash was added.] I will make you four of these corn balls."

The next morning after breakfast she gave the corn balls to the boys and instructed them to go to the shore and call, "Grandfather, come out and take us across the water." She explained, "You will see the waves moving, and a large snake with a single horn will come out of the deep water. When he reaches the shore, tell him he is not the one you want. Call again, and there will be another snake with two forked horns but send him back, also, for he is not the one either. A third one will come out, and you will see a growth of young willows and small cottonwoods between his two horns. Tell him he is not the one you want either. Call 'Grandfather' again, and there will be large waves along the shore. The last snake will have long horns with cottonwood, willows, grass, and sage growing all over his head. Tell him you want him to take you across the water. Ask him to put his head close to the shore. You must jump onto the snake. You will find many deer tracks on his head. Be careful not to do anything foolish while you are on your way."

The boys did everything as instructed, and everything happened just as the Old Woman Who Never Dies said it would. They jumped on the snake's head, and he swam with them for a long time until he said he was tired. The boys broke up one of the corn balls and fed the snake. Refreshed, the snake swam on until he was tired again, when the boys again fed him a corn ball. Again they went forward. After feeding the snake the fourth corn ball, land came in sight. The snake came to the shore, and the boys asked him to put his head up on dry land, but the snake could not put his head out on the dry land. Black Medicine jumped, but the snake almost swallowed him. He was afraid that his brother would be swallowed, so he called back to him to be careful, but the other brother said he would jump from the snake's nose. Black Medicine warned him not to jump from the snake's nose, but the brother did, and the snake swallowed him.

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[3] This island was the winter meeting place of many creatures (see chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony").

Black Medicine was left alone. He cried all day as he walked back and forth along the shore. Next morning as he walked along the shore, the big snake came up and opened his mouth. He saw his brother in the snake's mouth standing there and making motions to Black Medicine that it was nice in the snake's mouth and urging him to come in, but Black Medicine would not. He cried all that night, he missed his brother so. The next morning he again saw the snake and his brother, who invited him to come in, but again he refused. The third day the same thing happened. That night just when the wind was going down, while the water was calm, he saw a man standing beside the shore wearing a robe with the hair side out. He noted that there were pieces of white jackrabbit fur along the edges of the robe, and he wondered what the meaning of that could be. He heard a noise above him, and, looking up, he saw the man whose reflection he had seen in the water. This man had a flat stick two feet long in his arms. He asked the cause of all the crying each night, and Black Medicine told of the trouble with the serpent and how his brother had been swallowed and taken into the water. The stranger asked if he had seen his brother since, and Black Medicine told of seeing the snake come up to the surface of the water, and how he was able to see his brother in the snake's mouth motioning for him to come in.

The man in the air said, "Good! That snake comes close to shore because he likes corn balls."

"But I have no more corn balls," Black Medicine replied.

The man in the air brought forth a corn ball, made of only a little corn and mostly of ground sunflower seeds and rabbit manure which he gave to Black Medicine. He took the corn ball and cried all night. On the morning of the fourth day, the big snake came close to the shore and Black Medicine said, "Grandfather, I have a nice corn ball for you. Will you come close so I can put it in your mouth? Come closer." When he had the snake close to land, he gave the corn ball to the snake who ate it. Black Medicine said to the snake, "I want to see my brother once more to shake hands with him and then I will go home." The big snake came up and opened his mouth. There was the brother standing in the snake's mouth, but Black Medicine complained that he was too far away and asked the snake to come closer. The snake came closer but refused to put his head on the shore. Black Medicine walked toward the corner of the snake's mouth, but the brother refused to come toward him until he had begged four times.

The snake asked, "Do you see any black clouds?" Though there were a number in the sky, Black Medicine said that there were none. Suddenly Black Medicine seized his brother by the wrist and pulled him out. They hit the shore and bounced up at once, jumping farther up the bank. That moment a long flash of lightning shot out of a cloud above, and the snake sent out lightning at the same time. Thunder above had the stronger lightning and killed the big snake, which was thrown up onto the dry land.

The young men were knocked unconscious and lay on the ground as though dead. Thunderbird noted the condition they were in and brought them back to their senses. He took the two boys with him and went to his earth lodge. Thunderbird had a wife and two daughters. He said to his daughters, "Hurry! These young men killed a large snake. We must go there and butcher it."

The wife never moved but remained in her bed all day long. Thunderbird, his daughters, and the two young men went to the place where the snake lay dead. Thunderbird cut the snake up into small pieces and carried it home. Thunderbird and his family ate the snake, but the two boys would not touch the meat. Thunderbird noticed that these young men were active, with more powers than ordinary Indians. He said to them one evening, "You know that every man should have a wife. You should have a wife, and you will sometime. I am here alone; my wife is sick in bed all the time. I have two daughters, and they are good-looking girls. I want you boys to marry my daughters. The older boy should take the older girl and the younger boy should marry the younger girl."

Black Medicine was sensible, but the other was foolish. Black Medicine hung his head and studied for a long time, but the foolish one kept saying, "Why don't you tell him that we will take the wives."

At last Black Medicine said, "We will take the girls for our wives."

After that the young men were out hunting a great deal and brought in the meat from the animals they had killed. The father-in-law praised them for their skill. Thunderbird said, "You must not go to the other side of that hill, for there is long grass there and the ground is wet and boggy." They agreed not to go there.

One day while out hunting the foolish one said, "Let's see what it is like over back of that hill where our father-in-law says for us not to go." They went there and found a dangerous lake with a white beaver on the shore next to them in the grass. The beaver heard them coming. His tail was covered with flint tools arranged like the shingles on a roof. The beaver slapped his tail, and small pieces of flint stones struck them with such force that they were obliged to run for their lives. They studied from the top of the hill how they could get the beaver. Black Medicine went to the pocket gopher for help. The pocket gopher agreed to dig a hole under the ground until he came to the beaver's bed. When the hole was big enough for the men to get through, he came back and told them that the hole was ready.

Next morning the boys went to the hill overlooking the lake and saw the beaver in his usual bed beside the lake. They crawled along in the tunnel that the pocket gopher had made until under the beaver. They could see the beaver's heart moving, they were so near to him. Black Medicine shot his best arrow through the beaver's heart and killed him. The two brothers went home at once, and the father-in-law knew something had happened.

They said, "Yes, we went to that big spring and lake you spoke about. We saw a white beaver and killed him."

The father-in-law could hardly believe their words. Thunderbird went back with them and butchered the beaver and carried it home on his back. They ate the meat and shelled the arrowheads off the tail like a woman shells corn from the cob until there was a large pile of arrowheads. The arrowheads were just what the father-in-law wanted.

One day the father-in-law said, "There is an animal over in those red hills. It is a red jackrabbit. I would like to get his hide, but something keeps warning him every time I go after him."

The young men agreed to go after the rabbit, and the father-in-law told them where they would find the rabbit. One day they went out, but just as they were nearing the red hills the rabbit ran over the hill and was gone. They said they would get him the next time.

All this time their mother-in-law was in bed ill. The young men asked their wives what was the matter with their mother and were told of a long porcupine quill in her foot. Black Medicine[4] told his wife that he could doctor. The boys built a sweat lodge first. They found the quill in her foot, squeezed the pus out, pulled out the quill, and put her in the sweat. When they carried her out, Black Medicine took a piece of black medicine from his pocket, chewed it, and blew it over her foot. Then he put her to bed, and she had a good rest. Soon she was able to walk around again.

One day there was no breeze, and they decided that the right time had come to get the rabbit, for, without the wind to help him, he would not be able to smell the two brothers as they approached thehill. They reached Red Hill, and Black Medicine sent his brother to the other side of the hill. Black Medicine walked through the peaks, and the red rabbit saw him and ran over the hill. When he saw the other hunter, he turned about and was shot in the side and killed. They left the rabbit for the old man to get. When they reached home, the father-in-law knew that something had happened. They told him where he would find the rabbit. The old man skinned the rabbit and saved the fur; the meat he cooked and ate.

For a long time after this, the young men did not find hunting very good. One day when hunting was poor, they wondered how far they could shoot. Each shot two arrows, and they walked along, picking up the arrows. They found that one of the arrows had gone through a snake with a head on each end, killing it.

When they reached home, the old man said, "I smell something." The young men insisted that they had not killed anything, but he still insisted that he smelled something. They told how they had not killed anything except that, while practicing for distance, one arrow went through a small double-headed snake.

When they reached the spot where the snake had been killed, they found that the snake had grown large. The father-in-law cut the snake up and all carried the meat to the earth lodge. The father-in-law said, "It is good that you killed this snake, for my relatives will be here soon. I must get ready for them." He went outside and cut some chokecherry sticks the size of a pencil and about two feet long. Some of these he peeled the bark from and fastened to them the arrowheads he got from the beaver's tail. He fastened a piece of red rabbit skin to the side and sage to the other, until he had enough of these sticks to make a large bundle.[5]

Thunderbird sat on his lodge for a long time, and at last he said to his wife, "Cook the snake, for my relatives are coming." He asked the boys to hide themselves in the earth lodge. The first arrival walked right in; he was a man, but just before he entered he was a raven. He was pleased with the abundance of food, and the old man gave him one of the sticks he had prepared. The raven finished eating and said that he would go back to spread the news that the old man had much to eat. The old man went on top of the lodge but came right down again, for another person was coming. He came right in and was given food and one of the sticks, and he said, "I came ahead to find out how things are here. The main party will arive here tomorrow." This man was the chicken hawk.

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[4] In the myth of the origin of Eagle-trapping, Black Wolf also doctored the bear cub with black medicine.

[5] These were known as bird sticks and were a part of most Eagle-trapping bundles. When trapping, these sticks were arranged at the altar.

Thunderbird said, "You tell them to stop a little ways from my place before coming in. Tell them when they stop over by my house to divide up into their own groups."

The sisters told their husbands when they doctored their mother-in-law for a sore foot that she was one of a large party of birds going west in the spring. She could not go on because of her bad foot.

The next day birds began to come, and each arrival sought his own group near the lodge. The groups were: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles.

The old man went out with the snake meat, which he divided into four piles, and he divided the sticks into four piles also. The birds began to eat, and soon all the food was eaten. Each took a stick with the flint stone attached. When the feast was finished, the old man said, "I have done all these things you like, but I didn't get it all myself. I have two sons-in-law. They are Mandan. They did all this." Then he called the two young men out, and all were surprised to see them. Some were afraid and would have run away had the old man not spoken to them.

When they finished eating, the old man said, "You can go to your homes now [autumn], but, when spring comes, I would like to have you come to me. We will move somewhere else then."

The birds all went to their old nests and stayed away all winter until spring came. Then the old man said to his wife, "Spring is here, and our friends will be coming soon. We are expected to move up the rivers. What are we to do with our sons-in-law? They have no wings, and it would not be right to take our daughters without them. When the four groups are here, we will discuss the matter with them and see what they think about it."

Soon the four groups of birds came, and he said to them, "What are we going to do with my sons-in-law? They have no wings and they are humans. My daughters like them. What shall we do?"

The birds replied, "I think it is best that we hatch the young men into birds." They decided that the bald-headed eagles should lay them, for they were the oldest birds. The young men were brought out of the earth lodge and went up on top of it. The birds asked the boys to roll up into a ball, and the bald-headed eagle put her wings over them. When she flew away to the other birds, there were two eggs where she had been sitting.

On each of the two eggs there was a straight line and a zigzagged line representing the lightning, for sometimes the flashes are straight, other times zigzagged. The bird went back and set on the eggs. The eggs hatched on the second day, and she flew away. Soon she came back and set on them again, and, when she flew away, their wings were nearly grown. When she flew away the fourth time, the young birds had grown into full-sized, bald-headed eagles. All the birds watched them while they flew up into the air. Everything was ready for the birds to travel; their course was up the Missouri River. Two birds were selected to be the scouts and go ahead of the main body of travelers. The scouts were the chicken hawk with the white feathers at the base of the tail feathers and the raven. All the other birds traveled along behind the scouts. They traveled along until the chicken hawk came back to report something strange in a ravine ahead.

The birds said, "We will have the two Mandan men investigate and get whatever it is." They called the two brothers and told them about it. Each of the big eagles had a sword[6] shaped like a knife; some were white; others were black. All of them were very beautiful.

The young men were given their pick, but before they made a selection the wives said, "If they tell you to take certain ones, be sure to take the old one; it is a little cracked, but it has much power and is very sacred. If you swing that, you will never miss."

The young men did as they were told and selected a very old sword. The wives said, "When they let you go to kill what is in the ravine, be sure to go high in the air and sing this song we always use when we kill something. Then come down, both of you at the same time and turn sidewise when you are nearly there, one going to the right and the other to the left. Do this three times. The last time swoop down together until you are close to the ground, and the one who has the sword hit at it easy and very slowly. Then go straight up into the air again, for you will kill what you want to kill."

The big party of birds did not tell the boys to sing the bird song, but the wives taught them the song. The two went high into the air but could see nothing and came back. The other birds said, "That was all our fault; we should have told you to look sidewise."

They went out again and soon saw a serpent. Just then, the other birds remembered that they had not taught the boys the song and were surprised to hear the "eagle-killing song."[7] The boys dived out of the sky three times and the fourth time made a motion with their sword. A flash of lightning shot forth. At the same time the snake sent up lightning. They killed the snake and returned to the other birds, who praised them for their skill in killing the snake. In a short time the birds had eaten up the snake and had begun to fly northwest along the Missouri River.

The chicken hawk and raven returned a second time and said that they were nearing a Mandan village where a man by the name of Chief Bird was giving a feast for all the big birds just as he always did at this time of the year. The boys heard the name of their father and knew that they were near home. They talked to their wives about it. They told their wives that this was their home and that Chief Bird was their father. They asked their wives to go to their home with them. The boys went to their father and told him of their adventures. The wives were invited to come and live in the village, but next morning they were afraid to go in since they looked so unlike the Mandan.

The sisters said, "We are afraid to go there; we would feel out of place. It is best that we give you something that represents us." They pulled out a wing feather the birds put their heads under when they go to sleep. The Mandan call this feather "sleep feather." Each pulled out the sleep feather from the underside of the left wing and gave it to her husband. After the feast was

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[6] The sword is a part of the sacred bundle for this ceremony.

[7] One of the sacred songs of the Big Bird ceremony.

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over, the boys decided to give a feast for the big birds every fall when the birds went south. They gathered robes all summer, for it took a large amount of goods, besides the meat, in order to put on the ceremony. Twelve stones were used in the sweat lodge representing the twelve tail feathers each of the big birds has. Seven robes were needed to cover the sweat lodge. All the people belonging to this group met together, and the two young men brought out the two "sleep feathers" representing the two wives. The rights in the ceremony were sold to their "Children of the Clan" and have continued down to this day.

773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe.
772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels
and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was
likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like
an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was
associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner when-
ever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the
Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to per-
778 form the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the
singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his
wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail
feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of
the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by
Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to
war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's
clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his
return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when
in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of ward-
ing off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power
773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed
that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female
[828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity,
[826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature
[845] births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

773 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living to-
539 gether. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would re-
fuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one
of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young
man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had
been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one.
He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my
words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is
such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable
home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he had confidence you would obey him. It looks like you are going to have Sikaraxa [Split Wing Feathers] for a husband."

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[3] Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

Sikaraxa lived in the direction of the sunrise. Corn Silk invited in four old women of the village, and they asked the purpose of the invitation. She said, "My mother wants me to marry Sikaraxa, and I want to know where he lives."

The old women said, "We heard it is in a far-away country. It is almost impossible for any human being to go that far. The best way for you to get there is to make a ball."

Corn Silk made a ball as directed. She invited the four old women in again, and they said, "When you start out in the morning, go out onto the ridge and kick the ball. Then you will be at the next ridge [horizon]. If you can't get there today, you will be sure to get there tomorrow. Take as much food as you can carry."

They instructed her to kick the ball four times toward the horizon. She was to kick it three times, and, on the fourth kick, there would be a forest running crosswise to her course. There she would find some of her grandmothers.

She followed their instructions. At the end of the fourth kick she reached the timber and there found a lodge. Inside were the mice [grandmothers]. Corn Silk could hear them talk of the day's work digging roots. One of the mice came out for wood and saw Corn Silk. At first they were frightened, but, when they learned that it was Corn Silk, they invited her in and asked, "What has brought you here so far from home?"

Corn Silk said, "My brothers have sent me here because I refused to marry a great hunter. They sent me to Sikaraxa, and I am on the way to the place where this bird dwells."

She stayed with the long-nosed field mice the first night, traveled all the next day, and reached the home of the mice with white breasts and red backs the second night. The third night she spent with the black mice, and the fourth night with the moles. At each stop she explained her mission. The mice all followed her and met at the moles' lodge. From there, all were to go together to the cliff and lake where Sikaraxa lived.

The mice warned her, "You are in danger and must follow our instructions carefully. When you get there, you will find yourself on a buffalo skull. He will come and ask you to take a bath with him, and you must say, 'I don't think it is necessary for me to stand on this skull and meet my death. I have heard about you and don't intend to go through all these rites.' Then kick the buffalo skull out from under you and see what happens."

Corn Silk went to the village on the island and there found an enormous earth lodge. Sikaraxa lived in it. He said at once, "Let's take a bath."

The man's mother said, "You must not take her to the lake so soon. You always do that and put an end to them. I don't want to see Corn Silk's life ended so soon. We may like her when we know her better."

Sikaraxa would not listen to his mother. The two walked out together. Mole whispered to Corn Silk, "Today we are all going to die together. The only way we can save you is by putting strong wristlets, anklets, and a necklace on you. Make the strings strong. The strings to your moccasins must be strong with long extensions so that we can hold onto them. Have your belt extensions to the back."

When the people in the village saw Sikaraxa taking Corn Silk to the lake to bathe, they were sorry that so beautiful a young woman was to die so soon. All admired her because of her long hair. No other woman who had come to

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him had been nearly so beautiful. He commanded her to stand on the buffalo skull, and she refused saying, "It is not necessary for me to die on a buffalo skull."

She kicked it into the lake. A large fish[4] with long teeth leaped from the lake, took the buffalo skull, and ate it. Then Sikaraxa ordered Corn Silk to remove her clothing and lie on her back with her head toward the lake. She refused, saying, "I came here to marry you, and I refuse to go through these rites. I won't undress."

Sikaraxa said, "I will come toward you four times, and the ceremony will be over," so she lay down as ordered. The moles dug holes to her wrists, ankles, neck, and waist, holding onto the straps. They also dug a trench so her body was level with the ground. Sikaraxa went out of sight in the air and came down as the Thunderbird, making much noise, and bringing the wind with him. He thought she would surely be blown into the lake, but she was not, since the mice were holding her firmly. The second time, he came lower, and the wind was stronger, but he saw that she did not move. The third time he was down to the height of the trees, and the fourth time he came within a few feet of her. During one of the intervals between the winds, the mice said, "The fourth time he will be only a few feet above you. Seize the white thing he has around his neck," but he went by before she could get it. Then he circled a few feet above her, wondering what held her. One of the moles punched Corn Silk who had gone to sleep and woke her up. She reached up and grabbed the object he had round his neck. At the moment he lost the object, he changed from a bird to a human being and stood beside her.

They walked back to the village, but she kept the object which was his heart. He stayed close to his wife during the daytime, following her everywhere she went. The people laughed at him and said, "He has taken a strange turn of life."

His powers were almost all taken from him because of the loss of his heart. The mother-in-law was glad to have a young woman in the lodge who had returned unharmed, and all the village was happy. Sikaraxa had been a great traveler, being a bird, but, after this, he never went out. Instead he would be found tagging after his wife wherever she went.

They were together until she gave birth to a child, a small boy. They continued to live together until the boy was three or four years old and able to talk. He was inquisitive and was always asking questions. Corn Silk wore the heart sewed on the inside of her buckskin dress and kept a belt over it so that Sikaraxa did not know where it was. One day the boy asked her if this was her native village, and she said, "No, we came from the Missouri River. You have uncles [mother's brothers] and a grandmother there."

The boy said, "Let's go home."

She said to Sikaraxa, "Our son has learned that he has relatives at the Missouri River, and he wants to see them. We are planning to go back for that purpose." Sikaraxa was willing to go along as protection for them. The boy was very happy, but the mother said, "It will take a long time to get to your relatives this way." The father made a nest and placed the boy in it, asking his wife to sit on the boy. He performed rites that changed the boy into an egg which shortly afterward hatched into a bird.

Sikaraxa was to follow later. They were transformed into two white swans swimming near the edge of the lake. They stopped there a while to feed. When Sikaraxa thought it was time, he started after them to see how far they had gone. He was changed into Thunderbird. He could not find them, but he saw two swans feeding along the shore of a lake. The two were afraid, and the mother said, "If your father does not know we changed into swans, he may kill us. Shout to him, 'Here we are.' " The father sent them on their journey, all the time flying toward their village, but Sikaraxa was far above them in the skies.

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[4] The pike called by the Mandan "Wolf Fish."

When they reached the village, they changed back to their former selves again. They entered the home village again. Corn Silk, being a holy person, was recognized by all, who cried, "Corn Silk is back from her search for a husband." They were curious to see the man she brought back.

There had been a famine after she left, so Sikaraxa made medicine to bring back the buffalo herds. He also brought rain for the crops. Since Corn Silk's father was chief, their family had plenty to eat. Sikaraxa lived with them a long time. During the course of his visit, Sikaraxa and his wife took a bath in a pond near the village while the little boy played on the bank. While playing there, he saw the heart sewed into his mother's dress and, lifting it, called to the mother, "Mother, look what I found."

Both the man and his wife ran for it, but the man got there first. All the while, the mother was pleading for the boy not to let his father have it, but he gave it to his father. Immediately, the man transformed himself into a large bird and flew into the air. He soared over them. Corn Silk was on the point of scolding the boy when Sikaraxa said, "Don't scold him. It is all for the best. When he grows up, he will be successful; he will be a great hunter and bring the herds near the village."

Corn Silk scolded the man for making promises that could not be fulfilled. She added, "You better fly away. We don't need you any more. The boy has enough uncles [mother's brothers] to provide for him."

Now Corn Silk was a widow. The boy was unusually intelligent and came to be considered a great hunter. He resembled his father closely, and people all remarked of their close resemblance. Time passed fast, and soon the boy had grown to manhood. It was late summer, and the families were thinking of a suitable winter village site. Half of the people had left.

The boy said, "I hate to go to the winter camp where we have to shovel snow and haul in wood. We have enough corn here, and I can hunt a little."

His family decided not to go to the winter village. Half of the people stayed in the summer village with them. Soon he was renowned as a hunter, and his lodge became the central meeting place where most people got their meals. They were getting along better than they had expected. His father had given him the name "Looks Down To Hunt." He kept his mother well supplied with meat, and, during his leisure, he would sit on a pile of rocks on the hill back of the village. One day as he looked down from his rock pile, he noticed that his mother was dressed up in fine clothing and prettily painted. She was playing kickball. As he watched, he heard a sound resembling a song, but the words were not distinct.

He went back the next day, for he was curious to learn what the song was. It was more distinct, so he knew it was someone far away singing. When he saw his mother dressed up in her fine clothes again, he was so angry that he went to bed without eating. The third day, the singers were closer and the words were something about his name, but his name was all that he could distinguish. When he saw his mother playing the third day, he was disgusted, and, when she spoke to him as a woman does to her husband, he was all the angrier. When he was on the hill the fourth day, the sound was just back of the hill from where he sat. There were two singers, and the words were:

We have Looks Down To Hunt in our heart,
But his mother is silly about her son.
Our feet are blistered from walking so far.

The boy was facing the east, looking down onto the village. When he recognized the words, he was so angry he would not go down the hill. The two singers approached. The one from the north was of dark complexion and had long black hair; the singer from the south was of light complexion with yellow hair. The one from the north carried a yellow wooden bowl full of pemmican, and the one from the south carried a woven bowl full of four-in-one corn balls. Each carried a pair of moccasins. When they came to him, he was at a loss concerning the order in which to eat the food, for he thought, "If I take one's food first, the other will be jealous." So he took from each bowl at the same time and put both portions into his mouth at the same time.

Then the woman from the south said, "I have never been jealous, so eat from my friend's first, for my friend from the north often gets jealous." When it came to the moccasins, he thought of the same thing and took one from each pair, but his hands were awkward. The woman from the south said, "You should put on the pair the woman from the north brought. She gets jealous."

He took both women to his lodge. His mother was out again dressed up in her finest clothing playing the kickball game. When she returned, he said, "You foolish old woman! I have brought you two daughters-in-law."

When she heard that, she ran into her lodge, pulled off the elkskin dress and robe, rubbed charcoal over her paint, and came out looking like an old woman again. When it was time to go to bed, the three went together into the same bed, he in the middle with one of his arms under each wife's head. They slept that way all night.

Next day, the woman from the south said, "I am not jealous; tonight you should sleep with the woman from the north." The woman from the south was Corn Silk and the woman from the north was Buffalo Woman.

Buffalo Woman was first to give birth to a child, a little boy. Next night a child, also a boy, was born to Corn Silk. Nothing of importance happened until the boys were old enough to talk. One day they were playing together and enjoying themselves. The women were busy at their quill work. Buffalo Woman's boy cried and bothered his mother until she gave him a hoop laced with rawhide to play with. He enjoyed himself with it for some time. Corn Silk's boy wanted to play with it, but the other would not let him. He kept crying until finally Corn Silk brought him a small pumpkin the size of a ball and gave it to him to play with. The pumpkin made a rumbling sound as the boy rolled it on the ground. The buffalo boy threw his hoop away and cried for the pumpkin. Buffalo Woman said to Corn Silk, "Why can't you tell your boy to let mine play with the pumpkin? You have given many people chapped hands; you have caused many people to grow old from work; you have cut many people about the face with your dry husks. You always want to eat the best part of my body, especially the fat on my bowels."

Corn Silk replied, "You, too, always want to eat some part of my body. In the winter you go south where I came from to eat cornhusks; you eat the bodies of human beings." [She meant that when on the buffalo hunt there were instances of death of Indians from enemies or from injuries inflicted by the buffaloes.]

They scolded each other until Buffalo Woman said, "Get up, Calf!" They started for their home in the north.

When the husband came in, his wife said, "I told you the other wife was jealous. If you want to, you can follow them." He decided to follow and see how his son was getting along and then return to the village.

When he was ready to start, Corn Silk said, "When you get to the place where Buffalo Woman lives, you will get into trouble, but I will help you." He waited two or three days and then went to the place where he was accustomed to sit. He changed himself into a bird and flew in the direction his wife had taken. He changed into one of the small hawks known as the kite. When he got near the place where she lived, he came to large cactus plants as high as the cottonwood trees. Their needles were a foot long. Buffalo Woman and Calf did not stop but went straight into the cactus thicket. The father saw them from above and thought of striking her on the head with his lightning, but the calf was too near her. They were all day going through the cactus brush. That evening they came out and set up their skin tepee, which was almost white in color. The husband changed himself into a human being and went up to the door. His son came out and saw him. He was happy and ran inside to tell his mother. She only said, "Your father is not a very good man. Besides, he couldn't travel through that thick brush."

Calf asked if he could let his father in, but the Buffalo Woman said nothing. The boy ran to the door and said, "Mother wants you to come in." He went in. That night they slept in the tepee. Next morning he awoke to find himself sleeping in a buffalo wallow. His family and the tepee were gone. He could not find any tracks to tell him which way they had gone. He flew up, transformed into a bird, and shortly afterward he jumped a jackrabbit which he killed for his morning meal. He flew high into the air and found his wife and son approaching a large lake. First they would gallop, then they would run. When they reached the lake, the cow jumped into the water and the calf followed. They swam nearly all day and reached the other shore just as the sun was setting. Then they became human beings again and pitched their tepee. The husband came up, was invited in by the little boy, and slept in the tepee just as he had done the night before. Next morning he found the tepee gone as before. He changed into a bird, flew into the air, and again killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal. He found his wife and their son at the foot of a rocky ridge. He could see that she was working hard to get over the high rocks with the calf. It was sunset when they crossed the last ridge. They pitched their tent for the night. The husband stood at the door, but the wife did not think he would come that far, but the son found him and brought him in. The boy gave his share of the roasted buffalo ribs to his father. The boy slept with his father, but he was so noisy that his mother called him back to her bed.

Next morning the husband again found himself sleeping in a wallow with the tepee gone. He killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal and flew into the sky. He found them going through thorn-apple brush with the cow pushing her way ahead with difficulty. When the cow and calf came out of it, the sun was just setting. They pitched their tepee for the night.

She was roasting ribs for the meal when the husband came up. The boy asked his mother if he could give his father some. He took two of them to him to eat. (That is why a man today has ribs shaped like a buffalo's.) He slept with his father that night.

He said to his father, "Tomorrow is the day that we are to get home. I have much to tell you. My grandmother is mean. There are ten of us grandchildren. We all look alike and are boys. The first obstacle you will have to overcome is the door. It is one solid rock. If you are a little too fast or too slow, it will fall on you. You will have to find me. If you watch closely, you will see one run against the bed two or three times. That bed is my mother's. If you get in without being killed, grandmother will tell you to hang up your quiver against my mother's bed. If you watch closely, I will rub against it."

The husband changed into the down from his feather. The rock fell to crush him but instead it sucked him into the lodge. Once inside, he changed back to a human being again. He found the mother-in-law to be large, with earrings of live toads. He saw the boy bump into the bed three times, so he hung his quiver up over the bed the boy had bumped into. Then the calves were lined up, and he was asked to find his son, but he recognized him when Calf wiggled his left ear once. Then his son changed into a child again.

The fourth obstacle he was to encounter was that of the sweat lodge. The old woman said, "Calf, your father has traveled far and must be very tired. I am going into the sweat lodge with him."

She put the stakes of the lodge deep into the ground, and the covering was so thick that it was almost impossible to get out. She placed large boulders the size of an earth lodge but reduced, though holding the same amount of heat, in the pit. She hung three buffalo paunches full of water on the side of the door. As he went into the sweat lodge, he picked up a spider and said to him, "I will be burned to death if you do not help me."

He took the spider's body and went with it to the fourth layer under the ground. It was dark in the large earth lodge along the walls. Ten buffaloes were there in the lodge, unseen. They held the sides of the sweat lodge down so none could escape. When she put water on the stones, it was so hot that none could stand it, so she was surprised that her son-in-law should call for so much more water. The spider, speaking for the man said, "Bring more water for your mother-in-law." The toads she wore for earrings were nearly dead from the heat.

She came out of the lodge and the son-in-law came up from the fourth layer of the universe. He said, "That sweat was not warm enough to limber me up. Son,[5] can't your grandmother build another sweat tonight?"

She refused saying, "There is something I am afraid of which has come among us." He conquered death and then lived among them for some time.

One day the old woman came back from visiting a friend. She was crying, and they asked her what was the matter. She said, "They have been burning some dry cottonwood. I asked for some, but they said I had an Indian for a son-in-law. They said, 'Get him to bring some.' "

When she said that, her son-in-law agreed to get it. She said that in a certain ravine there was a dry cottonwood, the only tree of its kind there. All the time, the old woman knew that there was a family of bald eagles living there. He started for the tree; just before he reached it, the eagle saw him and began to send out lightning. He ordered them to stop sending the lightning, and the eagle said, "I thought you was an Indian." The eagle split the wood with his lightning and the man took it back to his mother-in-law. She took some of it to the people who had refused to give her any, so she said.

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[5] He speaks to his mother-in-law indirectly.

Some time later, she again came back crying and said her friend had some wolf pups a son-in-law had brought her. The pups were red from the chest up. She said that they had refused to give her any, since she had a son-in-law of her own. Again he volunteered to go out for her, this time for the wolf pups, if he only knew where they were to be found.

The mother-in-law said, "One will have to go north until he reaches some Red Buttes; one is higher than the other. The wolf pups are at the foot of the highest butte."

He started on the trip for the wolf pups. When he came to the place, the wolf and its mate came out to eat him, flames shooting out of their eyes. Before they could harm him, he told them who he was. He took two of the pups back alive, and the old woman was amazed that he was not eaten up. She said she was so proud she was going to give one of them to her friend, but actually she turned them loose, for these were some of the servants she had employed to devour her son-in-law.

Her friend, she said, had snow-white beaver cubs, and she wanted one of them, but the friend said she had an Indian for a son-in-law. He went after them for her. She said they were found in a certain lake. When he came near, the beavers switched their tails, and flints flew off chipping pieces of wood and even breaking stones. The man said, "Beavers! Stop that or I will kill you," and they stopped. He took two of the cubs back to the old woman.

Again she came back crying. This time she wanted juneberry sticks for arrows. Buffalo Woman scolded her for asking for so many things. Again she told how her friend's son-in-law had some he was cleaning the bark from with his teeth, but that they wouldn't give her any, telling her she had a son-in-law who was an Indian. Again he went out; this time it was for the sticks to make arrows from. While he was away, she said aloud, "I have put off long enough this matter of destroying him. I am not going to depend on my servants any longer. I am going to kill him myself now."

Before he left, he had inquired where they were, and she had said that they were on the other side of the hill just back of the camp. This was a high hill with a ravine beyond it. The sticks were at the bottom of the ravine. When he began to cut, he remembered that the best sticks were always at the bottoms of ravines. Actually the ravine was the old mother-in-law's rectum, and, when he began to cut, he found himself inside the old woman. She thought he would surely be killed by suffocation so she let up on her hold and then he was free to move about, but he could not get out. He looked through her stomach and saw a corn basket attached to a rope coming from above. He remembered then that his wife, Corn Silk, had said that when he was in trouble she would help him. The old woman thought she had disposed of him and had made a laughingstock of him as well. But he flew up as a swallow and gave the old woman the juneberry sticks, both the straight and crooked ones.

She had been using the other gods to kill her son-in-law. Again she thought she would try it herself. She said to Calf, "Your father has good vision. I am going to see which of us can recognize the island in the lake to the northeast.

He said, "My medicines, I am in trouble. I want you birds of the air to do the seeing for me," and the slender raven said, "I am the only bird with a long vision." (When a man is in trouble, he does not say "my friend" but "my medicines.")

Raven took his eyeballs out and put them into the man's eye sockets. When he was ready, the woman said, "Let's go up on the lodge and see if you can sight the island."[6] He looked in the direction of the island and proceeded to describe the curves of the shore line and everything else on the island. She said he had described everything correctly.

When making a bet like this, the loser can have a second chance. She said, "Now, give me a second chance by seeing which of us has the better voice." The man went to his medicines again, and Land Gull said, "I am the bird with the clearest voice; use me for your voice."

During the breeding season, the buffalo bulls can be heard for over twenty miles. The woman used the voice of the bull. The old woman and her son-in-law were to be the sole judges of the contest. They separated and were far apart. When the bull bellowed, no sound came to the man. When the bird sounded, its voice could be heard as though it had come from just back of her ears.

Then she thought she could defeat the man in the foot race and thus kill him. Though this old woman lived in an earth lodge, actually the whole world was inside it. The four uprights were the four posts of the universe[7] which held up the sky. The four uprights were to be blackened, and the first to make the rounds of them was to be the winner. He called on his medicines to help him. The lodge was considered to be the earth; the wall was the horizon; the posts were the four uprights which held up the sky. He asked the killdeer bird to make the land between the first two posts boggy, and he called on the small gray fox to run the first stretch for him. The old woman employed four buffaloes, one for each stretch. He called on the red fox to run the second stretch; that land was undermined by the moles, who left just enough soil to hold the fox up but the old woman's buffalo floundered about helplessly. He called on the coyote to make the third run, but nothing was done to the land. He made the last run himself.

The race began. When the buffalo got to the first post, he was far behind. Each time when the buffalo reached the post, he would find it blackened. The man finished the race, transformed into a bird. After he won the race, the man said to the mother-in-law, "I want that prize to take home."

She said, "That is right," and, going to the head of the lodge and taking her wooden digging stick with her, she pried a rock out of its place and spoke down into the hole saying, "All of you come out." The buffaloes came out, but they were hairless and covered with grease. They had no meat, only fat on them.

He thought, "If I take them, my son will not get out." He refused them.

A second herd was called out, but they had long legs, long horns, long manes, and turned-up noses; they ate human beings. He refused them, and they returned into the earth. The third herd called up had long horns, manes that reached the ground, and bushy tails like horses, but they were larger than the others. He refused that herd, so she sent them back. The fourth herd was like the buffaloes we know.

He thought, "Here is a chance to take my wife and child back," so he accepted them.

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[6] She uses direct address. In extreme circumstances the mother-in-law will address the son-in-law directly.

[7] So far as it was possible to determine, this was the only myth referring to the earth as a huge earth lodge. The mouth of Heart River was the fireplace.

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The old woman said, "This is the herd I tried to keep from you, but I am going to make a ruling that, when a white one appears, or a calf is born in the winter, it will be of great value."

That custom persisted until the buffalo were exterminated. He took the herd home, but let his wife and children [all the cow's sister's children were classified as children] go with the herd. He parted from them, for they were now considered food. This was also the beginning of the custom of a man parting with his wife and child and thinking little about it. This man taught the people that the world was an earth lodge supported by four posts. Thus, in building an earth lodge of the four-post standard, either an eagle lodge or earth lodge, calicoes were given to the posts in commemoration of this event.

When he reached home, the corn was short, for the season was dry; the buffalo herds were far away. He caused it to rain and brought the herds close to the village. All the people prospered and were happy, for the man by his adventures had brought good luck to all the people. By his suffering, he gained powers, and it was for the good of all his people.

778 sales were as follows: (1) arrowmaking rights (Items 1, 2, 3, 4,
425 10); (2) owl rights (Items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); and (3) Holy Woman
614 rights (Items 10, 11, 12, 13). The buffalo-calling rights were reserved for the main bundle-owner. There is no evidence of a bundle coming from Mitutanka Village.

SNOW OWL CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[5]

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A long time ago the Mandan were divided up into groups trapping eagles along the creeks west of the Missouri River. They were living in the usual eagle-trapping lodges made on the four-post standard. Black Wolf was one of the party. Being a good hunter, Old Black Bear was glad to have him along. He would go out into the pit whenever the winds were from the west and he was catching many birds. One warm afternoon, when in his pit, he became sleepy and was dozing off when he heard a rumbling sound. He awoke instantly. This same sound occurred on three consecutive days, but each time he woke up. On the fourth day, he was asleep when it occurred.

When he finally woke up, his pit was so dark that he thought night had come. When he touched the roof of his pit, he found that a large rock covered it, holding him prisoner beneath. When he could not get out, he cried. He lost all track of time. At last he saw daylight and was glad to get out of the pit. He found himself in a strange country. He saw a high hill and went there to get his directions again. From there he saw timber farther on, and at the edge of it there was a very small man motioning with his robe for him to come over. He went to the stranger and found him to be a small man, almost a dwarf, with a fair complexion, yellow hair, and a slightly hooked nose. This little man spoke in Mandan, and Black Wolf was glad to hear a voice again. He was invited to a lodge which was a four-post eagle-trapping lodge. There he saw a middle-aged man sitting at the head of the lodge making arrows. The arrowmaker did not speak, but the little man asked him to sit down.

After a while the arrowmaker said to the little man, "My helper, you have brought in a stranger. Prepare food for him."

The little man brought in dried meat and fat which he cooked over the coals. When it was crisp, he placed it on a wooden platter and set it before Black Wolf. Being very hungry, he ate it all up. Then the little man brought him water in a buffalo horn.

When Black Wolf had eaten, the arrowmaker said to the little man again, "It is time for us to eat now." The meat Little Man brought in was from around the sinews of the back. This he pounded up with a stone hammer and made into pemmican. Then he brought out an earthen kettle full of water and set it onto the fire. When the water was hot, he brought out a white substance and put it into the kettle. Then he said, "The meal is ready."

The arrowmaker said, "Bring my paint," and the Little Man ran to obey him. The paint was yellow, and the arrowmaker daubed spots of it all over his body. He tied a scalp on his left wrist, then stood up and danced around the fire to the rhythm of his own breathing. Each time he came to the kettle, he sifted a little of the pemmican into it and then ate a little out of the kettle each time around until he had his fill. Little Man did just as the larger man had done.

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[5] Another version of this myth is recorded in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 149–54.

At the evening meal, everything happened just as at the previous one.

At the morning meal, the food was prepared as formerly. Black Wolf ate first; the arrowmaker went through the dance as he ate, as before, but added the words, "If you don't bring in the elk, you are a coward."

It was customary for Black Wolf and Little Man to bring the firewood from the timber. While in the woods, Black Wolf asked Little Man what the arrowmaker meant by calling him a coward if he did not bring the elk. Little Man replied, "A large elk lives in a lake far to the north. It comes out of the lake in the middle of the day to take a nap. By my cunning, I always approach him and shave off a small piece of his horns to bring home to cook in the earthen pot we keep by the fire."

Black Wolf said, "I will bring in that elk."

Little Man said, "There are two cranes watching the elk. They cry out, and their voices echo over the whole country whenever anyone approaches."

Black Wolf left immediately in quest of the elk. Toward evening he came to a forest. He thought he would spend the night there and soon found a four-post lodge near the edge of the trees. He went to the lodge and stopped at the door. Inside he heard women talking of digging roots and wild potatoes in the forest. Some said their work was easy; others said it was difficult. They said they were hungry and that one should go outside for the firewood. The one who went out was short, with a long nose, but she was very good-looking. She saw Black Wolf outside and invited him in, but the other women, on seeing him, became so frightened that they ran to the head of the lodge and fell in a pile on the floor. The woman at the bottom of the pile said, "I am smothering. There is nothing to be afraid of. It is only Black Wolf. It is our grandchild who frightened us."

Black Wolf took out a piece of tallow for the grandmothers to grease their hands with and to eat. Some ate theirs; others greased their hands.

When the excitement died down, one of the women asked, "Grandchild, what made you come so far?"

Black Wolf replied, "That is right. I am far from home." Then he related the strange things he had experienced. He told how the rock fell over his pit, how the two men danced as they ate, and how they had called him a coward if he did not bring Elk-with-Antlers. The women listened carefully to all he related.

Then one of the grandmothers said, "Grandchild, this is a dangerous undertaking. If you keep traveling north, you will meet more of your grandmothers [long-nosed mice living in the timber]. When you go, we will follow after you, and you can tell the next grandmothers you meet we are coming to them."

He gave the women a small piece of fat before leaving in the morning. He traveled all day, and toward evening he came to a lodge in the forest. As he came nearer, he saw the smoke coming from the lodge and heard voices inside. Their conversation was also about digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out for firewood, and she cried back saying, "An Indian has come to our lodge." All the mice ran to the side of the lodge opposite the door where they formed a huge pile.

One of the number said, "It has been a long time if it was an Indian. She must have been fooling us."

A second mouse went out to see what was the matter. She called back, "It is Black Wolf. Our grandchild must be on an important errand to be so far from home," so they opened the door, and Black Wolf went in.

One of the women said, "How is it you are up north so far from home? We never expected to see you here." Black Wolf thought of the reception and of the fat in his pockets. One of the mice said, "My lips and hands are chapped." He gave each grandmother a piece of fat. Some used it on chapped hands; others ate theirs. Then he related all that had happened since the rock rolled over his pit, making him a prisoner. When he told them that the grandmothers one camp back were coming, they said that there were more mice farther north and that another day's travel would bring him to them. They asked him to spend the night there. These mice were red-backed with white breasts. Before he left, they said that they would follow him to where the elk lived.

Next morning he went on, and at evening he came to the timber again. There he found a lodge and stood beside the door. Inside he could hear the usual conversation about chapped hands. Soon one of the mice was sent out for firewood and saw Black Wolf. Again they were all frightened and rushed to the back of the lodge to form a pile. The one spoke saying, "It is time the Indian was coming in. She may be fooling us."

Saying this, she went out and saw Black Wolf standing at the door. They were no longer frightened when they saw that Black Wolf had come to their lodge. They told of their chapped lips and hands. He thought of his fat and gave them larger pieces than he had done at the other lodges. These mice were nearly black. They asked the same questions concerning his business in the far north, and he told the same story as before. They said, "One day's journey from here will take you to the other grandmothers. Tell them we are following you to their lodge. We have nothing to say about your errand. It is those at the first lodge whose word is authority."

Black Wolf spent the night there and started on his journey next day at sunrise. That evening at sunset he came to a timber that lay crosswise to the course of his journey and saw a lodge just inside the timber. He heard those inside telling of digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out to gather firewood and saw Black Wolf. She called to the others, "There is an Indian at our door." All the mice ran to the back of the lodge. One said, "She must be fooling us. It is time he came in." She went out to find Black Wolf standing there. She invited him in. They questioned him about the reason for being so far from home, and he told them everything.

They said, "That big man who took you after you were held prisoner in the pit is one nobody can do anything with. He captured Little Man to be his slave. There is no way to capture the elk, but, when your other grandmothers arrive, we will talk the matter over and see what can be done. That elk sleeps at noon." These were the moles.

The other mice arrived that evening. First they told him that the elk was white. When the mice were ready, they told him to remain in the lodge. All of them went outside without telling him why. The mice of the first night began a tunnel underground and dug until they were tired; the mice of the second lodge dug on; the mice of the third lodge dug as far as they could; the mice of the fourth lodge finished the tunnel up to the sleeping elk. Then they called Black Wolf to follow the tunnel and kill the elk. Its heart beat was so strong that Black Wolf could hear it. He went up to the sleeping elk and shot four arrows tipped with flint into the heart, and the animal died. When the mice dug the tunnel, the cranes set to guarding the elk knew nothing of it so did not let out a cry until it was too late.

The grandmothers advised him to return at once with the elk. Being holy, he made the trip in one day. As soon as he reached the lodge of the two men, he informed the large man that he had killed the elk. He only replied, "Good! We will bring it in." Being birds, they made the trip there and brought in all the meat in one day.

When all the elk was taken into the lodge, the large bird danced around the food before eating. The small portion they used to put into the kettle was the fat from the horns. Now they had all the horns so they were well supplied. At first the large man was satisfied with the meat, but he got tired of it after three meals. They he danced and chanted "If you don't bring the four stripes, you are not a man." He referred to a man who had four stripes painted in his hair.

Little Man was one of the small gray-colored owls about the size of a blackbird found in the timber. Black Wolf continued to gather wood with Little Man. That day he asked what Big Man meant about the four stripes, and Little Man said, "He means that you should go after a man with hair striped white, red, blue, and bright red. This man lives near the ocean. There is no way of reaching him. That is the person Big Man was speaking of."

Black Wolf said, "I will go for him."

When Big Man heard of this, he was very happy, for he had no way of getting the man. Black Wolf changed into a bird and made the flight to the seashore. Then he changed back into a human being again. He walked along the edge of the forest where he saw many tracks of animals. Soon he saw an earth lodge with smoke coming from the smokehole and knew that it was occupied. Without awaiting an invitation, he walked in. There was only one occupant, a woman (the white-tail deer). She said, "What brings you so far from home?" She gave him corn-meal porridge, cooked dried meat, and water. Being hungry, he ate it all up and drank the soup. Again she asked him what brought him to the lodge. He told her of Big Man who took him in; how he sang a song telling of Black Wolf's cowardice if he did not bring in the white elk; and how Big Man now wanted him to bring in the man with the striped scalp.

When he finished, the woman said, "It is a good time to go now, for that man is in love with me."

She wore a dress of buckskin. This she took off and stood naked before him. Then she asked Black Wolf to do the same. Then she rubbed his body until he had her physique. When she came to the calves of his legs where one of the veins looks like lightning, she said, "If I change that vein, you will not run so fast. Now you look just like me except your lower legs. Now you must go to the shore and say, 'Grandfather, my grandmother has ordered you to cross me.' If a snake comes out, tell him he is not the right one, and he will disappear."

He did as she directed. When the first snake came out, there were only red willows on the bank, so he knew it was not the right one. He called again, and the growth on the shore was the small cottonwoods. He said, "Grandfather, you are not the right one."

The snake said, "I am sorry. I came for nothing."

The grandmother had said, "The third one to come out will lay its head on the shore. If the cottonwoods show smooth bark, tell him he is not the one you want, and he will disappear. The fourth time you call, the shore line will be changed to rocky sides and the cottonwoods will be large in circumference but not tall, with red willows growing at their feet." She gave Black Wolf eight large corn balls and said, "That snake will say, 'Grandchild, put one of those corn balls into my mouth,' but instead of doing it, put it into the water and let the snake get it himself. All these growths will be on the serpent's head."

When the last snake came to the shore, Black Wolf said, "Come a little closer," and it obeyed. Four times he asked the snake to come closer, and each time the large snake drew its head farther up on the bank. Then Black Wolf jumped and grabbed some red willows to hold onto. He missed the draft that nearly sucked him into the snake's mouth. The snake swam on, since he could not get Black Wolf at the shore. He hoped to swallow the man when he put corn balls into his mouth but, instead, Black Wolf threw them into the water for the snake to get as best he could. Corn balls were thrown into the water four times on the trip, and then they reached shore. There the snake placed his head even with the water, but Black Wolf did not dare to get off and asked him to move farther up the bank. This way, he moved the snake four times so that he was far up on the bank. Black Wolf jumped safely to shore.

At once he dressed in the woman's costume and started for the earth-lodge village. The grandmother had instructed him to look for a lodge facing south, which he had no difficulty in finding, once he reached the village. The young men of the village, playing the hoop-and-stick game, stopped to admire the pretty young woman passing by. One of them said, "She is the prettiest girl to come to this island. No doubt she is going to visit Four Stripes."

He went to the lodge and said, "Here is a woman who wants to come in."

When Four Stripes' mother heard, she went out to the girl and said, "Pretty woman, did you come to see my son?"

Black Wolf said, "Yes." The old woman showed her to a seat. Black Wolf was dressed in an elk robe, mountain-sheep dress, and leggings. He was very beautiful in women's clothing.

The grandmother, in giving instructions, had said, "Four Stripes' mother has the reputation of being a very mean woman."

Black Wolf was given food, and about that time Four Stripes returned. He was very handsome with light complexion and long hair. He was dressed in a beautiful costume. He had just returned from courting the chief's daughter. He carried a long lance in his hand. This he hung up at the head of his bed while he changed his robe. The mother said, "This young woman has come to you, and you better sit beside her and become her husband." He agreed, and they were married.

The mother-in-law sent Black Wolf for water. At the edge of the spring, he found a mountain-sheep horn that was always in motion. It had peppermint growing on its edges. He took the horn, filled it with water, and gave it to Four Stripes. The mother-in-law instructed Black Wolf to return the horn where he found it. He was given food, and, when the two had eaten, they heard a loud noise above. A woman came down through the smokehole. She was a bird with a long neck and on her back carried a sharpened ash pole with which she killed anything she attacked. She was a holy woman. She traveled like a bird and devoured humans as food. Her hair was dark with gray stripes. She was sister to Four Stripes. Also in the lodge was Four Stripes' mother's

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sister (called mother). When the holy woman[6] flew in from the skies, she was surprised to see the woman beside Four Stripes.

The mother said, "Don't you do anything to my daughter-in-law," for this woman was in the habit of eating anyone who came to marry Four Stripes.

Holy Woman said, "If she is a woman, let her stand up like a woman." She meant that she should strip naked. The holy woman asked her to let her arms hang. As it was dark in the lodge, she lit willows to examine Black Wolf. Then she commanded Black Wolf to turn his face from the fire, and then she admitted that there was a resemblance to a woman. She noticed the veins on Black Wolf's legs, and she flew up through the smokehole, saying, "The calves of her legs are not those of a woman."

It was not long until it was time to retire. Black Wolf wanted intercourse with Four Stripes and set the night back four times. Near the end of the fourth night, Four Stripes went to sleep. Black Wolf got up and shook Four Stripes, but he was sound asleep. Then he began to cut the head off with a flint knife. When he came to the fat around the spinal cord, he found that it was a chokecherry branch. He finished cutting the head off and put it inside his dress. He said to the mother-in-law, "I have my periods. I should go outside to sleep while I have them."

The mother-in-law said, "You should go on a scaffold."

"No, I will sleep on the earth-lodge entrance," Black Wolf replied.

The mother-in-law made a covering of robes for Black Wolf. As he walked, blood dripped from the head, and she thought it was from the sickness. He left one of his lice in the bed to impersonate him. He ran to the shore and found the monster still waiting for him.

He said, "Grandfather, I am back." He was nearly sucked into the snake's mouth as he jumped onto its head. He gave out the four corn balls on the way, but they had not reached the shore. The snake asked for flesh from the thigh of Black Wolf's leg. That gave him strength to reach the shore. Black Wolf landed safely and ran to meet the grandmother. She said, "Hurry, take off your clothing." By the same rubbing process, he was returned to his old self again. She forgot to rub under his arm, so that to this day, a man's skin there resembles a woman's.

When the excitement was over, the grandmother said, "Hurry, and try to reach the lodge at Fat Hill (north of Little Missouri River). Don't stop at the entrance but run inside as fast as you can."

He left the grandmother and ran toward the lodge as fast as he could. Just before reaching the lodge, the holy woman in the air said, "The head is drying up. There is no chance for you to get out alive." He ran into the lodge and threw himself out of reach of the large bird. The only person in the lodge was a small boy with a dirty nose; he was playing in the ashes. The holy woman landed a little behind Black Wolf but did not go into the lodge. The little boy was named Bad Bone, the Mandan term for the sternum bone.

The holy woman called into the lodge, "Send Black Wolf out. If any harm comes to him, I will make you suffer." Bad Bone went to the left side of the lodge and rubbed it with his hand, and the lodge immediately changed into

[6] Four Stripes' sister. One of holy women entitled to dress up and dance at the close of the Okipa ceremony and to receive gifts whenever a major bundle rite was being performed.

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a solid rock, holding the two inside. The holy woman flew up into the sky and came down with the pointed stick, attempting to chip the stone. Bad Bone caused a crack to appear in the stone, large enough for her to stick her pointed rod into, and then he caused the lodge to go back together, holding the stick and ~~woman~~ prisoner. When the bird was fast, he returned to his playing and did not say a word to Black Wolf. Bad Bone then caused it to rain, and the holy woman became wet and cold. She called to the boy, but he paid no attention to her. Then he caused it to snow, and there was a blizzard from the northwest. She called that she was freezing, and they could hear her shiver. At last she died. Black Wolf went outside, cut her head off, and told Bad Bone that he could eat the body.

He left the lodge immediately, carrying the two heads. He reached Big Man's lodge without further difficulty and presented them to him. Big Man was glad to get the two heads, which he skinned and dried. Before this time, it had been customary for Black Wolf to eat first but Big Man said, "My helper, get something to eat. We will eat together." He tied Four Stripes' scalp on Big Man's wrist and gave the woman's scalp to Little Man to wear on his wrist. When Black Wolf first came, Big Man had a scalp on his left wrist; this he gave to Black Wolf to wear on his left wrist. The three danced around the food before eating.

For several days they danced in this manner before each meal. Each time they ate, part of the elk's horn fat went into the kettle with the pounded meat. Black Wolf and Little Man went for wood each day. One day Black Wolf told of his desire to go home.

When he made his wishes known, Little Man said, "When you get to the lodge, bow your head and make it known that you are homesick. He will ask me what is wrong and you address him Igiį'tahE." IgiitahE was the owl that lived in the north. It always faced the wind, no matter how cold and stormy it might be. This owl was almost pure white in color.

When Big Man asked him what was the matter, Black Wolf told him he was lonesome. IgiitahE asked when he wanted to return, and Black Wolf said, "I have brought you all the things you desired, and now I think I have earned my freedom. I want to start for home today."

IgiitahE said, "That is true; you brought me everything I asked for. My last wish is that you stay with us tonight. Your home is not far, and you can reach it in one day."

That evening they ate together and then retired. Early next morning, IgiitahE woke up and asked Little Man to get a meal together, as it would be their last one with Black Wolf. Then IgiitahE asked Little Man to bring the medicine bundle, and the boy gave him the bundle. From the bundle Big Man took a rib with a hole through it. It was one such as is used for straightening arrow shafts and making the grooves. He said to Black Wolf, "See how I make them." He took out a wooden object with a hollow in it to polish the shaft. He put pulverized stone in the groove. The third object was a piece of rawhide tanned in such a way that pulverized stone stuck to it, serving like a sandpaper for smoothing arrows. The pulverized stone clung to the hide by a glue made of boiled sinew. The fourth object was a grapevine the length of the arm and the diameter of the thumb. He also gave Black Wolf a tanned fawnskin, both his spur claws, yellow clay for paint, black clay also for paint, and one of his largest feathers pulled from his wing.

Then he instructed Black Wolf that on the way home he would meet a very pretty woman who would say that she heard he was returning. "You should shun her and not even smile at her. She is pretty, but farther on there is a prettier one. The second one will try to attract you and even make advances toward you. Don't smile or talk to her, or she will use her powers over you and take you to her lodge. You will meet four pretty women.[7] You are privileged to talk to the fourth woman, if you are not strong-hearted, for man is not strong that way."

Black Wolf met the three women just as IgiitahE had said he would but passed them all up. Coming to the fourth woman, he saw that she was the most beautiful of them all. He thought of the privilege he had been given, so when she got in his path, he smiled and spoke to her. She invited him to her lodge, saying, "Come, my lodge is over there," and she prepared a meal. Then she asked him to marry her. Looking around, he saw that there were eight beds. He had been warned to be on the lookout all the time, for there were many dangers. He remembered that he had been warned that, in the course of intercourse, he would need the articles give him by IgiitahE. As they lay there, something tried to bite him. He used the rib employed in manufacturing arrows and the vaginal teeth chewed it to pieces. Next time the teeth tried to bite him, he used the two wooden tools for smoothening arrows; the third time he used the rawhide sandpaper which it took a long time to chew up; the fourth time he used the grapevine, which it chewed on for a long time. Then he had normal intercourse.

Shortly afterward, one of the men returned to the lodge. This lodge was the Dog Den Butte. The other six men came back soon afterward. Each time one of the men came in, he noticed an outsider in the lodge and would say, "Hurry and make us a meal of that animal you have just devoured."

The sister would say, "You can't eat this one; he is your brother-in-law." It had been customary, when killing a man, for the sister to bite off the penis, and then the brothers would eat the corpse. It was the custom of these brothers to lead the Mandan into the vicinity of Dog Den Butte, where, when a battle took place with the enemy, one of the warriors would be killed. These seven brothers would then take the corpse into Dog Den Butte and eat it. When the seven brothers could not induce their sister to give up Black Wolf, they said, "We are going to have a dance. Let Black Wolf dance with us."

She warned Black Wolf, "Do not dance with them, or they will eat you."

He only replied, "Since my brothers-in-law want me to join their dance, I will."

"But they will kill you," his wife replied. Black Wolf insisted that he could dance like them and thus be safe from harm. He put on a costume like Big Man had given him and braided his hair into a knot on the top of his head. He used the wing feather, yellow clay and black clay, tying the spurs of the white owl to each wrist; he slung the fawnskin over his shoulders. He made a pretty sight with his body painted yellow and spotted with the black clay. When the dance began, some of the dancers threw off their heads, others their stomachs, hearts, and even legs.

Black Wolf dressed in his bed. When ready for the dance, his wife said, "Your brother-in-law is coming out." They stood beside his bed ready to seize him when he appeared. Instead, he threw the fawnskin out, which, coming to life, frightened the brothers. Black Wolf impersonated the white owl and

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[7] In order these women were: White-Tail Deer. Black-Tail Deer, Elk, and Buffalo.

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screeched. The seven brothers ran away, leaving portions of their bodies they had been holding in their hands.

Black Wolf said, "I am very sorry they wanted me to take part in this, for they are all afraid of me."

The brothers begged the sister to get Black Wolf to give them back the pieces of their bodies deserted in the wild scramble for the door. One by one the dancers overcame their fright and ran into the lodge, seizing the lost parts. Black Wolf told them he had taken off his costume so they were safe in returning to the lodge. The brothers gathered around the fire, but they still feared Black Wolf. Each time he moved they would rush out of the lodge.

Black Wolf said, "I was on my way home when you brought me in. Now I must go home." At this time Black Wolf noticed an old bow with a knotted string, also a lance with a warped handle, and a quiver full of holes hanging over the door. He thought there must be some reason for the things hanging there. The brothers gave him his choice of the three, and he saw that his wife wanted to speak to him so he listened to her before making a choice. She whispered, "The important articles are at the farther end. If you take one of the two, you are making a good selection."

Black Wolf said to the brothers-in-law, "You have been good to me, but I am not worthy of taking your best, so I will take the bow and lance."

He left immediately, but the wife said, "Wait."

The brother-in-law said, "You did not take the best."

Another said, "You have given him his choice, and you should let it go at that."

Another said, "It is the custom for a married woman to go with her husband."

Another said, "No, she is the one who gets us food when we fail to bring in meat."

The brothers all agreed that she should say something to her husband before he left. She said, "You must go home and marry any kind of woman, even if she is not honorable. Then leave her for another. Do this four times, for I want to be jealous four times. When you go home, I will stay here and perform ceremonies. When you prepare for the ceremony, my brothers and I will be there. The chief will ask you to his lodge and offer you his daughter. Your answer will be 'I have important work to perform, and, when I get it done, I will take her.' "

When they were ready to let him go, she took four bundles apart and asked him to walk on them with his eyes shut and to open his eyes when he stepped on the last one. Then he would be home. He did as directed, and on the fourth step he reached home.

Word went around the village that Black Wolf was back. The chief heard of it and invited him to his lodge, saying, "During your absence, we have had hard times. I want you to marry my daughter so times will be better."

Black Wolf said, "I have come home to perform some very important business. I must complete that task. After that, I will consider marrying your daughter." That same night he married a girl from a poor family and word went around that he was foolish to marry the poor girl when the chief had offered him his daughter. Next morning the wife was found dead, and Black Wolf married a second wife the same day. She, too, died the next morning, and he married a third wife, who died on the morning following her marriage. He married four wives, and all of them died.

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Then he was free to marry the chief's daughter, for he knew that the woman in Dog Den Butte had had her jealousy satisfied. (To this day, it is believed that when a man loses many wives, it is due to the jealousy of the woman living in the Dog Den Butte.) He was married and lived in the chief's lodge. Black Wolf had promised that, when he returned to the village, he would perform the ceremony. The property necessary for the ceremony included over one hundred buffalo robes and one white buffalo robe. When he left the Dog Den Butte, he did not take the old bow and lance, for his wife in the Dog Den Butte had said, "When you give the ceremony, I will deliver the things to you."

When he made the sacrifice of robes to the people in the Dog Den Butte, they knew that the time had come. The chief's daughter removed her clothing and carried a plain black pipe. The people from the Dog Den Butte made four stops coming to the village so the girl was sent with the pipe, corn balls, and a robe to meet them at each stop. The robe was given them at the first stop, but they also received one at the door of the chief's lodge. When they made their last stop, they were at the door of the lodge, and all entered. Someone laid the robe on the floor, and the people from the Dog Den Butte laid Black Wolf's bow and lance on it. The sacred dances then commenced. The woman from Dog Den Butte was naked with a small robe over her shoulders, and a turtle shell over her pudendal region. The dance was very suggestive. They danced continually through the ceremony. Then the woman took up the bow and lance, which she gave to Black Wolf. The woman and each of her brothers took turns promising Black Wolf success in warfare and in taking scalps.

The brothers said, "You will be chief of this village and never have any bad luck."

The woman said, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

That was the way the custom of "giving the wives" began, and it has continued down to its present keeper, Little Owl. All the sacred objects are kept. The ones making the ceremony within memory of those living are Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat. The last person to impersonate the woman of Dog Den Butte was Flat Bear's grandmother, Brave Woman. She is called Woman Living in Dog Den Butte. In the last dance a man by the name of Big Turtle was on one side of the door. He had marks painted in red clay showing the kinds of wounds an enemy might inflict on the Mandan. A young man wanting to be lucky would go to him and ask for the privilege of striking an enemy. Then, when he was successful, he paid the man for sending him good luck.

women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses 838
like a woman.

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to 776
smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman,
and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have 553
the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother,
Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree
from the Bear.

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy 778
Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell 776
bundle.

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with [753]
rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those
thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People [828]
Above bundle.

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the
bundle was as follows: 773

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN 539

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her, and she was invited in. Each of the pocket gophers had a little clay pot cooking in the fire.

The head woman said, "The first cooked beans must be given to our grandchild."

Corn Silk had some corn balls with her, and she gave each old woman one of them with the buffalo fat. They asked where she was going, and she told of her trip to marry Sun.

Next day she traveled on until she reached the lodge where Sun lived. She stood at the door. Sun's mother, Old Woman Above, came out and saw the beautiful girl. Sun and Moon each owned a side of the lodge. Old Woman Above called her in and sent her to Moon's side of the lodge instead of Sun's.

About this time a Cheyenne woman came up from below, and Old Woman Above took her to Sun's side. Sun was on the inside of the lodge and knew all that was going on outside of the lodge. He saw that his mother was cheating him. He told his mother about it, but she said that not many women came to be the wife of Moon. Old Woman Above brought in the Cheyenne woman and said to Sun, "Here is your wife."

Moon said, "Mother, cook something for your daughters-in-law."

Sun was a cannibal, so Old Woman Above cooked human hands, ears, and skin which the Cheyenne woman helped Sun eat.

They had been married some time when the women knew that they were to have children. Moon told his wife he had a nest in a tree and asked Corn Silk to give birth to her child there, for Sun was fierce and would otherwise eat the baby. She had only to make the motion of jumping up to the nest, and she was there. Moon's wife gave birth to a boy. She and her baby were safe in a tree.

Shortly afterward, Sun's wife gave birth to a boy also. Sun picked it up and licked it like a buffalo licks her calf. Both parents were proud of their baby boys. Moon would go out in the evening and come back in the morning just when Sun was leaving. Sun said that he did not want the children to be babies all the time, and Moon agreed with him. Moon was afraid of Sun, since Sun would play with the children while Moon was away during the night. Moon knew that Sun had done something to his son, so he looked in the baby's mouth, where he found pieces of skin from humans Sun had been feeding him.

Sun said the babies should sit up, and they sat up; that they should walk, and they walked; that they should run around, and they ran around. That way they were full grown in a short time, and Sun gave the boys names. Moon's child was named Prairie Dog Owl. Sun's child was named Game Piece Stone.

Sun said, "Our boys are grown up, so I am anxious to have some people to eat."

When Moon went out that night, Sun had the boys play the gambling game. Old Woman Above watched closely every moment of the time. Moon's boy won the game but Sun said to play it over again; again Moon's boy won, and a second time Sun said to play it over. They played the game over four times, and each time Moon's boy won, but each time Sun said, "My boy has won the game."

Old Woman Above said, "Moon's son won every time."

They quarreled, and Sun said, "You always help Moon."

Old Woman Above replied, "Moon's boy won every time, and you always want to take it away from him."

In every game there was something bet. Once Moon's boy bet a Mandan household and Sun's boy bet his Cheyenne mother's ten brothers. When Moon came back, Old Woman Above told of the affair.

Moon said to his wife, "I will lengthen the night four times. You put a flea on the bed and tell it to talk to Sun, who will think it is you. Try to get to the village you came from with the boy. There you will be safe. The ~~flea~~ will tell the story over and over taking your place for four entire nights."

Moon's wife started back toward her village, and, while she traveled on through a night four nights long, the flea began the story. He told how Corn Silk went to the holy old woman to learn how she could get to Sun; how she visited and spent the nights with the mice for one night on the way; how she inquired the way to Sun's lodge and eventually found it.

About that time Sun became nervous because morning did not come. Then Moon added another night, and the flea told of the second night Corn Silk had spent with the mice.

Sun wondered why morning did not come again and said, "Something must have happened; it ought to be morning."

Moon set the night back a third time, and the flea told of the third night Corn Silk spent with the mice. The fourth night Corn Silk spent with the pocket gophers, the flea explained to Sun. Then the flea told how Corn Silk came to the lodge and Old Woman Above put her on Moon's side even though she came to marry Sun. The flea told of her marriage with Moon and Sun's marriage with the Cheyenne woman. By that time it was daylight.

Moon, who was also a large bird, one of the Thunderbirds, came back but not to the lodge. Instead he sat on a high cliff. He painted and prepared for war and flew around looking for the Cheyenne woman's ten brothers who were on their way to attack the village where Corn Silk's people lived. He found them and killed them with one flash of lightning. Just as soon as the ten men were killed, the Holy Women (magpies) who were evil spirits came and ate the meat from the bodies. Sun's child was among the ten. Moon's child cut the head off of Sun's child, but he had to put fire on him to kill the body completely. Moon had said that it was the only way Sun's child could be completely killed. He saved the head from Sun's boy. When Corn Silk and her son reached Prairie Chicken River, Moon's son ordered the Prairie Chickens to come together so that they formed a bridge with their beaks for the two to cross over on. The birds did as he ordered, and, when the boy was in the middle of the river, he dropped the head into the water and said, "Grandfather [Snake], I am making an offering of Sun's boy's head to you."

The two reached their village, and the people were proud of them and sang songs of praise because the boy's father had killed their enemies, the Cheyennes. They put him above all the others in the tribe and eventually made him their war chief.

By that time, Sun awoke and knew something had happened. He went to the spot where the bodies lay. There he found his son's ashes and put them together. The little boy jumped up without a head and fell down again. Sun then went to the spot where the Cheyenne had been killed, but only one skinny skeleton remained uneaten by the evil spirits

Moon's wife had a lodge of her own where she lived with her son. He had

773 a pile of stones on a high hill, and he went there to sit nearly every day. Since
539 his father was a Thunderbird, he liked to sit on high places and sing his
sacred songs.

778 Calf Woman's bundle contained these articles (see Fig. 40): (1) copper ring representing Old Woman Above; (2) copper ring representing Sun; (3) copper crescent representing Moon;[4] (4) one large gourd rattle; (5) six magpie tail feathers (the Holy Women were identified by these magpie feathers); (6) twelve owl tail feathers (the owl was associated with the moon and the night); (7) human scalp, said to be one that was taken from a Cheyenne Indian, killed by Moon when his son escaped; (8) left arm of a grizzly bear, used in the ceremony, since Corn Silk and her son did not have time to get a forearm of one of the Cheyenne; (9) grizzly bear's skull;[5] (10) tuft of long hair from a buffalo bull's lower jaw; (11) a strip of hide from a buffalo calf's head; (12) long hair from a buffalo's foreleg; (13) buffalo left horn; (14) a buffalo skull.[6] (The buffalo was represented in the

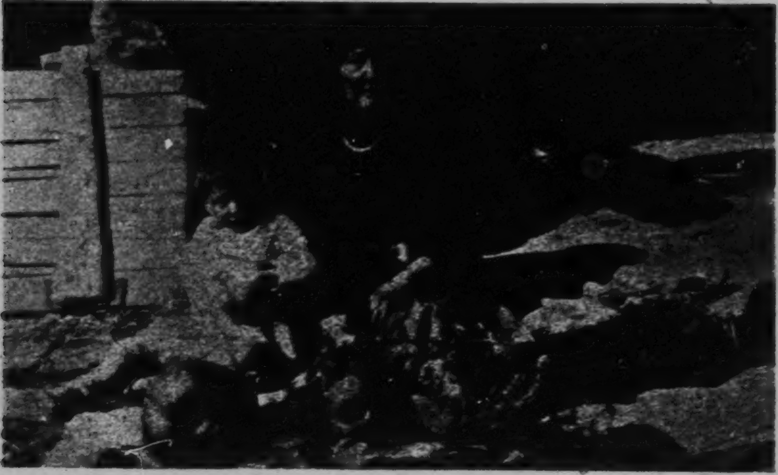

FIG. 40.—People Above bundle with owner, Calf Woman, and her grandson

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[4] The three copper objects were obtained from white traders.

[5] Scattercorn explained that the Holy Women were the only ones who could
776 master a grizzly bear and compel it to work for them carrying wood from the forests.
The significance of this skull was not clear to the informant. She thought that it had
been added by a former owner and was not a true part of the bundle.

[6] The rites were of major bundle status.

where the Sioux were hiding. The Sioux rushed out, and a shot broke Bobtail
178 Bull's leg above the ankle, and he said, "I am Bobtail Bull." He shot several
173 with his arrows but in turn was hit in the chest with a bullet and died. The
Sioux who killed him named himself Bobtail Bull.

Because Bobtail Bull killed the enemy at the small Mandan village, these people were obliged to come to Like-a-Fishhook Village for protection.

173 There is a slight variation in the myth between villages. This was determined by ascertaining the villages the various family lines had resided in. There were two distinct Mandan versions and one Hidatsa version. Several accounts were recorded of which three representative versions are given. They are: (1) Mitutanka version, supplied by Mrs. Owen Baker, granddaughter of Bobtail Bull; (2) Nuptadi version, narrated by Ben Benson; and (3) Hidatsa version, related by Bears Arm.[5]

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MITUTANKA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. OWEN BAKER[6]

●539 She was a Mandan. The people went to a winter camp, coming from the Heart River. They were at the place where they dig paint near the Little Missouri. It was east of where the road crosses north of Killdeer. This place was called "Where they dig paint." They were traveling along slowly, for they had dogs. The girl and her brother got lost. Though the children were missing, the people could find no trace of them. The two children built a lodge shaped like the eagle-trapping lodge. When they had finished, they were hungry, so they looked around. They found rose berries and wild turnips. They dug a cellar and put them away for the winter.

In a short time, the sister found a friend who stayed at home all the time, but the sister rarely stayed at home. She brought in elk, deer, and many kinds of meat. One day the boy brought in an elkhide. The women tanned the hide and made a robe of it. When they finished, they pasted clam shells to it. They painted the morning star on the middle of the robe.

She said, "Leave a space where I can put something on the left side for Corn Tassel." (The Awatixa call her Red Feather.)

Her brother did not know what it all meant, so he worried about it. After he had eaten, he would lie down to worry.

The two women tanned hides for their robes and dresses. The sister did not like the place and thought it was not a good place to live, so she left the place and went to Big Timber. There she built a large lodge and had all the mysterious holy women help her. They lived there a few years. When she was away, the brother would hear a strange noise while hunting and wondered what it was, but he was never able to get the answer. One day when she was gone, his other sister told him that his sister (Feather on Head) was after him.

She said, "Did you hear a noise? That is your sister. She flies into the skies and fights there. She is trying to take your life. I will try to help you out so you will be safe. When you go hunting, if you kill an elk or buffalo, cut the meat and hide up into small pieces and throw it around where you butchered."

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[5] This version was from Awatixa Village of the Hidatsa tribe.

[6] For the Nuptadi and Awatixa versions see Appendix II.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

He came home, and it was then that he told the other sister that he had cut the elk up and thrown it around. 773

She said, "When your sister gets back, tell her that you killed an elk and that, when you got it, you were tired. Tell her to get it in the morning. Be sure to hide your tracks. Cover them and walk in the water. When you have escaped, go toward the Fire Man, for she is afraid of that man." 539

She came home, and he told her that he had killed the elk and that she should get it for him. As soon as they had eaten in the morning, she started out. She saw where he had butchered. There were many small pieces, and she wondered what it was all about. It was hard to gather them, but she collected them in her robe and ran home with them.

He traveled along, hiding his tracks. He came into the lodge backward and put his arrow into the ashes to jump. The arrow carried him along. He ran fast. The meadowlark told him to try to reach the butte, "for the only person that your sister is afraid of is Fire Man."

She came back and found wood piled before the door, so she called for him to open the door.

He had left an arrow to talk to her, and Arrow said, "I am busy; open it yourself."

She broke open the door and found no one at home. She looked for the tracks and followed them but could not find how he went out. At last she saw where he had gone up through the smokehole. She got her digging stick, put her magpie feathers on her head, and flew out. The meadowlark told him to hurry, for she was near. He threw arrows out, and the best ones went farthest. He gathered those and put them in his mouth, where he would have them ready to use.

She said, "There is no place that you can go to and be safe."

The boy turned back with an arrow pointed and shot. The sister used a bunch of black sage, but both missed each other. He shot three times but missed; then he was close to the lodge where Fire Man lived.

He fell through the lodge and said, "Grandfather, I am done."

A very old man lived in there. A hot kettle was on the fire, and the boy was puffing.

The sister looked in and said, "Give him back to me."

The old man said, "Get him yourself."

"Give him back to me, or I will include you," she said.

"Are you crazy? That is your own brother," he replied. He picked up the kettle and chased her away.

The grandfather said, "Your sister has turned into a spirit now. She will never die. No one can do anything to her. She is the head of all the Holy Women, but she is afraid of me, for she is afraid of this fire. You go home this evening, and I will warn her. I will fix you so you can go home."

He put cottonwood limbs in the fire, for they bend as they burn. He put the bracelets of curved, charred cottonwood on the boy's wrists.

"You will hear her crying as you come near the lodge. She will be waiting to kill you. You put your arm through the door, and she will see the fire and be afraid. Then she will sit down and cry," the grandfather explained.

He did just as the old man told him. She gave him his supper, and he ate.

He stayed a few days and his sister said, "You can go home to our people now. They are not far from us. When you get home, they will give you the chief's two daughters. Then you can make your medicine and keep me, for I will never go back again, and I will never die."

When he was ready to go, she said, "Wait a while," and she went out and brought in a large buffalo. She said, "I want you to fix up my brother as he should be dressed."

She showed him where the village was, so he went back. He went back to the Mandan and not to the Hidatsa.

When he got back, the people were told of his experiences. A chief gave him his two daughters. He told his wives about his experiences and how he had been sent back to perform the ceremony. His father-in-law was happy and prepared everything for him, since it took a great deal of goods. He took one of his wives and went back to his sister. When he reached the door, he was crying.

She said, "My son [not a brother now], come in."

His wife had corn balls of four-in-one and she took them to the holy woman. The other wife stayed home and cooked sweet corn, corn balls, and meatballs to have everything ready. He took the pipe and corn balls and put them in front of him. She went out and called the buffalo in again.

She said, "Bless the corn ball. You smoke first, for you are the one to supply meat for my 'son.'"

Buffalo smoked first and then broke the corn balls. She went out and invited in all her friends who were the Holy Women, the magpies and the buffalo cows. When they had finished eating, they said, "You can go home now, and we will be there in four days."

When he had been home four days, the morning was foggy and still. When the fog lifted, the people could see them coming. Buffalo was first; then the sister came, carrying a live Assiniboine Indian on her back. She wanted her "son" to strike a live enemy there in the lodge during the medicine feast. They went into the lodge which belonged to his father-in-law.

She said, "I have brought you an enemy. I want you to strike him so that you will be successful against the enemy." His sister passed the medicine to his wife to press against her breast. Then she gave the robe to him.

She said, "This is my body. It will protect you through life until you are old. When you are old, you must pass it on to another to protect him." She gave the scalp from the Assiniboine to her "son" to put on the robe. When the ceremony was over, she went back, and he never saw her after that. These had been Hidatsa, but he went back to the Mandan at Heart River, so the medicine got to the Mandan.

He killed many Assiniboines. Because he killed more enemies then the other men, he was made chief. He died of old age. The sister is called Feather on Head Woman, the same name as my mother had. The boy's name was In the Corn Tassel.

If mice ran in front of the robe, they died. People could not talk out loud in front of it. It belonged to Big Coat; then it went to Bobtail Bull; Big Foot Bull got it through his wives.

Big Coat was on the warpath during the June raise. He had thirty Mandan who were all afoot. They came to a large Sioux camp and did not know which way to run except toward the river. It was high, and he did not know which way to go. He was responsible for his men, so he called to cross the river.

He said, "My old mother, I saw you tall as a cottonwood tree. Now I want to wade this river."

He pointed his pipe at the river. They waded in, and the river did not seem high. He crossed safely, and in that way he saved his men.

tribes who had recently married into the tribe, believing that 796
the spirits of the red sticks would then help the other tribe. 837
However, when such women had joined a Mandan clan, they 614
could participate.

Sometimes, when a man refused to walk with his "granddaughter," her husband placed a filled pipe before him. This left the old man one of two choices: (1) he could walk with her, or (2) he could invoke the spirits of the north that sent storms driving the buffaloes to the Missouri River to help her and her husband. A woman was not offered to a man of her own clan or to immediate blood relatives.

Mrs. Good Bear recognized this as a separate ceremony at the 796
lower village, Mitutanka, and did not believe that it was performed at Nuptadi in this form, as they had the Buffalo-calling rites of the Snow Owl ceremony, which was similar in some respects to the Red Stick ceremony. Scattercorn verified this information by stating that Standing Bear, who owned the Red Stick ceremony, came up early to Like-a-Fishhook Village (about 1845) together with the survivors of the lower village and that, after the Nuptadi survivors joined the other Mandans, both ceremonies were given but never at the same time.

The sacred myth belonging to the ceremony was related by Mrs. Good Bear.

RED STICK CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR

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A long time ago there was a respectable young woman named Corn Silk who had then been single for several years. Many men wanted to marry her, but she always refused. One day her parents said, "Why don't you get married?" They scolded her, and she felt bad because they had quarreled. When night came, she went outside and lay on top of the doorway to the earth lodge to sleep and would not go into the lodge that night. She went to sleep.

When she awoke, someone was carrying her on his shoulders, and she knew that someone had her in his power. She couldn't get away. They went along until they came to his lodge. He put her in a bed, thinking that she was asleep, but she knew everything that happened. Then there was another woman, an owl, and a large grizzly bear in the lodge. The man asked Owl Woman to cook something for Corn Silk, and she began to prepare food. Then she said, "Corn Silk, you should get up and eat." Owl Woman brought water for her to wash with, and then she ate.

The man came in again and said to Owl Woman, "Send her into the woods to get fuel. Tell her to take the bear with her."

He walked out and then Owl Woman said, "You are a good and beautiful

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young woman, I am going to tell you what will happen to you. That man plans to eat you. That is why he brought you here. You must try hard to save your life. He will kill you when you get back from the woods, so be on your guard."

Corn Silk took the bear and the travois to bring the wood in with. The bear lay down while she gathered dry sticks, figuring all the time how she could get away. Owl Woman had said, "If you get to that sharp hill before he gets you, you will be safe." She picked up one of her lice while she was in the woods and thought that she would get away while the louse answered anyone who came along. She ran as fast as she could.

At that time the man came along and inquired where the girl was, and the louse replied, "In the woods." He waited. Corn Silk was nearly to the hill. The man went in to see where she was. He asked the bear where she had gone, and he replied that she asked him to lie down, so he did not know. He asked where she was, and the louse replied, "Here I am."

The man said, "I know where she is," and he ran toward the sharp hill to get her.

He came close and kept saying, "I will get you!" She had some waterbird feathers stripped down to work, like in quill work. She threw one of the feather sticks back, and thousands of these white birds [a bird on the lakes of the north, the land gull] flew up and beat him in the face, slowing him up.

When he got out of the flock, she threw back an elk-horn scraper which was used to flatten quills, asking help of the elk bulls, who appeared and hooked him. This slowed him up, but he passed them. He said, "I'll get you this time."

She had a pumice stone to smoothen the feathers with, and she threw that back. Sharp hills of pumice stone came up, and they caused him to fall often. About this time she reached the hill and found the door open. She ran in. A little boy named Breast was inside playing with a bow and arrow, but he did not pay any attention to the young woman who had come in. Soon Spirit Man was outside, and he called, "Send her out, or I will get you, too." The boy was shooting into the fireplace. Each time the man said, "I'll get you, too," the boy repeated it.

The man said, "This will be the last time that I will warn you."

The boy took up a pipe called "Tail Pipe" [a buffalo tail hide stuffed with sand until dry, when a hole was made in the end, leaving the tip hair on]. The boy picked up the pipe and filled it with tobacco, lighting it. The man was standing a short distance away. Breast took a deep suck on the pipe and blew the smoke toward the man, who fell down and died. He called to his sister to come outside and burn the body. They covered it with buffalo chips and burned the body until it was reduced to ashes.

When evening came, the little boy said, "Sister, I have quite a few brothers; some are foolish, and they are out hunting now, so you must go behind their beds and hide before they get here." She hid and they came in; they were all young men; they cooked a meal and talked of the hunt for a long while.

The little boy sat there and suddenly said, "I found something," but they paid no attention to him. He repeated it, but they paid no attention to him.

At last one said, "Our little brother said that he found something."

The others said, "Show us what you found."

After a long time he said, "I found a sister." They all agreed that they would have her for a sister, so the little boy said, "Sister, come out." She came out from hiding as a beautiful young woman.

All the young men called her sister, and one of them said, "It is a good thing that you reached here because that man kills people and eats them. It is a lucky thing that Breast was here. It won't do to keep you here all the time, so in a few days we will take you home again. You can stay two days and rest and then go home again."

The next day they told her that they were going hunting and that she was to stay with Breast through the day. They said to Breast, "Stay with our sister, and you must not go out anywhere at all." They said to the young woman, "Sister, we are saying this because there are many evil spirits who would take you away."

While they were gone, an old woman came along packing an old man like they carried babies. His face was ugly; his nose was dirty; he cried like a baby. All this was to try to get Corn Silk to look at him. She hung her head and would not look at him. The old woman was angry because Corn Silk would not look, but they went out.

Toward evening the brothers came home and inquired whether anyone had been there, and Corn Silk told of the old man and woman whom she would not look at. The brothers said, "We thought so; everyone will be after you. It is best for you to go home. We will let you take something along with you so that you will be safe. Then nobody will bother you." One of them pulled out a beautiful otter skin with the skull still in it. She wrapped it up to carry on her back. At the same time she pounded dry meat for her trip home. Her brothers said, "If anyone stops you or tries to give you anything to eat, you must refuse it. Do not eat with them."

She walked along until evening came, when she met a beautiful young girl who said, "My friend, I have a lodge. You should come and stay with me overnight." They went into a ravine. The woman had a wood-and-brush tepee. They went in, and she said, "My friend, I will give you something to eat." So she dished out a portion of a man's brain with a mountain-sheep spoon. Corn Silk took out the brain and gave it to the otter skull, which ate it all up. She slept there. While she slept, the other woman went away, for in the morning she was alone. She set the tepee afire and traveled along.

She walked all day until afternoon, when a small child came to her crying for its mother. She looked at it and knew that it was not a real human and passed it up. Soon she saw another and passed it up; still another cried, and she thought of taking it because it looked so pretty. She went on. It cried louder and louder. Toward evening she met another woman, who addressed her as "my friend" and asked her to her house in a ravine. It was another brush tepee. She said that she was cooking dried squash, but they were people's ears. Corn Silk said, "I have something here for you to eat," and she gave the dried meat to the woman. Corn Silk gave the ears to the otter skull. The skull ate all the ears. The other woman said she was glad Corn Silk ate all the squash. When Corn Silk awoke, she was alone. She set the tepee afire as before.

She traveled until nearly evening, when she met another baby; she passed a second one also. The third one was a very beautiful girl who was just learning to walk. The baby touched Corn Silk's dress, and she looked at it. She took it even though she had been told not to take anything. She packed the baby on her back. She came home with the baby girl the same evening. Everyone called that Corn Silk was back, and all admired the very pretty baby she had with her. Everyone heard about the baby and came to admire it. This went on for three days. One morning when the village awoke, an entire family[8] was gone. The people wondered about it. The next morning another family had disappeared, and still a third family on the third morning. Some of the older people met and debated the cause of this and what could be done. It was something very mysterious, and they told the young men to stay up all night and keep watch. One young man said, "I will fast on the hills and see if I can find out what it is all about."

He cried all day, and a snowstorm and blizzard came up toward evening. In the night during the storm twelve buffalo bulls came along under the hill walking in the snow. They were walking toward the village. Each had a flat board about two feet long with hoofs, lungs, and a heart tied to the handle. They stopped at the foot of the hill near the young man, circled around, and sang their song.

First Pretty Woman was the name of the child which had been brought into the village, and the bulls gave the name. They said, "First Pretty Woman nearly ate up your village," and then they bellowed, pushing each other with their bodies. They were carrying the red sticks all this time. When they finished singing the song, the bulls went away and the young man returned to his village.

He said to the older men, "You wanted some young man to learn what has become of the people. I fasted on the hill to find out. While I was there, a storm came. I stood up against the wind and cried, and at the foot of the hill there appeared twelve buffalo bulls. They stood in a circle and sang a beautiful song. Each carried boards painted red. On the handles of each were hung heads, lungs, heart, and windpipe. They sang a song, and these words were in the song: 'First Pretty Woman ate up most of your people.'

"You must learn whether there is any child in the village named First Pretty Woman."

An old man said, "Corn Silk brought in a baby named First Pretty Woman, and that must be the one."

The older men called the Black Mouth Society, ordering them to go from lodge to lodge and find out who she was. They inquired the names of all the children in each family until they came to Corn Silk. They asked her if that was her own baby, and she said that it was. Then they asked the name and she replied, "First Pretty Woman."

Then the Black Mouths said, "That is the child we are looking for. We lost our families and something got them. We heard one of the young men say that First Pretty Woman was the name of the child who ate them. That must be the one, and we are going to take the baby from you."

Corn Silk replied, "She isn't mine because I picked her up on the prairie one morning at daybreak.[9] Once the child flew down through the smokehole and came to me. I tickled her, and she laughed. I saw a piece of meat between her teeth and pulled it out. It was the fingernail of a human."

The Black Mouths took the baby along, called through the village that they had found the child, and directed the people to bring wood to burn her.

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[8] "Family" here is used to designate all residents of an earth lodge.

[9] This is one of the holy women and was identified by the magpie tail feather she wore and the ash digging stick she carried.

They built a large fire and threw the child into the fire. She jumped out three times. The fourth time the baby burned, and its stomach swelled up and burst. All the people she had eaten came out and walked back to their lodges. 773 539●

After that was done, this young man made up the ceremony. He made the sticks just like the ones he saw the buffaloes carrying. It was not in the dream but instead of the lungs he put on hoofs. It was the custom to put on this dance whenever the buffaloes were scarce, and then they came near the village. When the young man came back, he was the first to make these sticks. The old men met and came to his lodge to sing the song that went with the sticks. The young man's friends brought their wives, and the old men walked with them.

561 796 the ceremonies would begin at such a time, and the people were expected to have a wood supply on hand. The people were expected to be quiet, and stray dogs were either tied up or killed. Both Calf Woman and Scattercorn (her father, Moves Slowly, was singer for the Mandan women) believed that the society was founded by the Mandan and bought by the Hidatsa.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

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The White Buffalo Women's Society began from a dream a man once had when he was fasting out on the hills. He dreamed that he heard a man calling from far away. He continued to fast. The fourth night the voice was so clear that he could heard the words. The voice kept saying, "Put a child with them." Soon he saw a man coming with two small children in his arms.

The man said, "I am going to give you these two children. Prepare a feast, and I will return to you. I am the buffalo. When you have the feast ready, I will come; you will have plenty of buffaloes all the time."

The man who had been fasting came back to the village and told how a buffalo man had promised him that his people were coming to the village to give him two buffalo children. He asked that the people put up a feast of all the different varieties of corn. He asked two women to come and receive the two buffalo children.

Soon a party of strange women came to eat the food and showed them how to give the dance. When the women left, the two children struggled to free themselves because they wanted to follow the women. One got away, but the other one was kept in the village. The child was reared in the tribe, and it was from this feast that the White Buffalo Society began.

Each winter the women came back to see the child. They were the buffalo cows, so the society danced to give the buffaloes a chance to see their child. The buffalo women would bring the winter buffalo herds with them.

561 The rule was that a woman should not belong to this society until she was beyond the childbearing age. This was the highest and last society to which women could belong. Women could not be members while they still had menstruation periods, as it was believed that the blood would drive the buffaloes away.

561 796 The society kept four men as singers. They bought their rights and could sell out whenever they wanted to. Before the ceremony of selling was held, the women put up a sweat-lodge frame which resembled an inverted bullboat frame. The ones buying must supply five or six robes for the cover. Each one buying gave a wooden dish and robes to one of the older women, whom she called "mother," to get her rights in the society. One person was selected to buy the leader's robe, which was white. As soon as the sale was concluded, the new society women lined up. The leader would be on the end of the line wearing the white buffalo robe with the hair outside. The child, a little girl between the years of two and nine, stood in the center of the line wearing a robe with the hair side out. A woman at the end of the line wore the robe of a summer buffalo and was called the summer buffalo. All the other women wore their robes with the hair side in. A woman standing next to the child burned the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Appendix I

MYTHS OF THE OKIPA CEREMONY

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WHITE CALF[1]

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My father was named Little Eagle. He was killed sixty-three years ago when out to war along the Mouse River [1867]. My mother's name was Shell Corn, and she died thirty-two years ago. I was born just after my father was killed.

My information comes from Big Turtle. He told the stories to One Side of Feather, Short Bull, Bear on Water, Big Foot Bull, and Two Chiefs when they were buying offices in the Okipa, and I bought my Lone Man's bundle from Two Chiefs, who married my mother after my father was killed."

In the beginning the earth was covered with water. Lone Man was walking along on top of the waves. He turned back to follow his tracks, all the time wondering where he came from. He came to a flower and saw that there was blood in it. The Flower said, "My son, you were born from me. I gave birth to you in order that you could go around in the world and do much work."

He went on, for he now knew who his mother was. He thought that there should be something at the bottom of the water, so he went on until he came to two ducks. He thought that there must be something in the water that his mother came from.

The Ducks said, "There is a bottom to the water."

Lone Man said, "Go down to the bottom and bring me up some earth," and they went down four times, so that he had four pieces of earth from the bottom of the water. He scattered the earth as he went along. When he looked back, he saw that the land had come up from the four pieces that he had scattered. He saw that the land he had made was good; there were trees in places, and some of them had fruit on them.

He secured wood from the trees and made a wooden pipe. He carried it on his arm as he walked along. He came to a buffalo bull, but the bull did not know where he had come from. There was some grass around the spot where the bull stood, and Lone Man decided to scatter that so that the hills would have grass. The bull saw that Lone Man had nothing in his pipe, so he passed water in spots that Lone Man had loosened in the earth.

The Bull said, "You can go on now but come back when you hear a sound like thunder." Lone Man wondered about it as he traveled along. He came to a small mouse with a long nose called Mosquito Mouse, and after that he came to a cornmill, and, because these were found in early times, we still call them "grandmother."

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[1] For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 1–21, and also Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 304–12.

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He went on with his pipe until he came to First Man (Coyote) and said to him, "You are younger than I am," and there was an argument, each betting that he was the older. Lone Man had a lance representing the two birds that brought up the earth from the bottom of the water. Lone Man stuck his lance in the ground and First Man lay down beside it.

Lone Man walked away and after a while he heard a noise like thunder. He went back to his garden and saw healthy tobacco plants growing there. There were many bees around the blooms, and they were making a sound like thunder. The Bull came back and made a tobacco sack from a buffalo's bladder. He filled his pipe, and the smoke was of fine flavor.

He thought of the bet he had made with First Man, so he went to the place where he had left his lance. He found it warped and said, "I told you I was the older man," so he left the lance and went on. After a number of years he came back and the stick was still there, but First Man's bones were scattered. The fourth time he came back, the stick of his lance was bent nearly to the ground, and he thought that Coyote was surely dead, so he took the lance out of the ground, and, by rubbing it with his hands, it was like new. When he was about to walk away, First Man jumped up, proving that he was the older. First Man said, "We will go around the world, and I will help you in everything that you undertake."

They made over the country. Because the pipe was in two parts which did not come entirely together, water was left between so that the land did not entirely come together, leaving the Missouri River between. Lone Man made the north or east side, and First Man made the other side of the Missouri River. They finished and came back to the Heart River.

Lone Man said, "I made my side flat with lakes, small hills, many rocks, waterbirds, and spotted buffaloes."

First Man said, "I made my land rough with springs and trees so that the people could come close to the buffaloes. I made the buffaloes, and they are fat and dark."

Lone Man said, "I made my buffaloes spotted and tame so that they would be easy for the people to hunt, but yours will be wild and hard to get."

They went around and examined the lands they had made. Lone Man secured a wolf hide for a robe. He killed rabbits to get the hide to put around his ankles as white stockings.

By that time there were quite a few Indians on this land they had made. He was among them, but they never noticed him. He wondered how he could get into one of the women so that he could be born into the tribe. He found a girl eating dry corn, but he thought that she would crack him with her teeth, so he gave that up. One day an old woman and her daughter were in the woods for firewood. The girl went to the river as she was thirsty. She saw a dead buffalo floating along in the current and drew it to shore. Seeing the kidney fat sticking out of a hole in its back, she ate some of it. She told her mother about the buffalo, but when they returned to the river, the animal had broken away from shore.

A month afterward, the girl learned that she was in a family way, and they wondered how it had happened. When it was nearly time for the baby to be born, it heard every word that the people said and thought that it was then time to come out into the world again. The girl was sick, and her mother put her in the lodge where the baby was born. They observed that the baby was painted black on the forehead, and the people knew that it was more than an average baby. They wrapped the baby in a hide smoked in the smokehole, and that was not good for him because it caused him to forget himself.

Nevertheless, the baby grew rapidly and soon he was a young man. He knew many things. Hoita[2] was living there at that time and was receiving many fine presents, especially white robes with the hoofs and horns attached. Lone Man wanted one of these robes and wondered how he could get one of them. He hired Thunder, Rain, Whirlwind, and Sun to help him. He did all this to get Hoita's white buffalo robe. The thunder came, followed by rain. The people went inside, but the lodges leaked and everything was wet. Hoita took his fine robe out after the rain and left it in the sun to dry. A whirlwind came along and carried the robe into the air, and it came down far to the north. A party of Indians found it and brought it back to the village. They said that it was even better than the one that had been given to Hoita. Everyone thought that they would surely give it to Hoita, but instead they gave it to Lone Man (Na'-to-re).[3]

Hoita was angry and went to Dog Den Butte,[4] taking all the animals with him. He held the animals there.[5] One day Lone Man went up onto a mound on a hill and noticed that there were no animals around. Soon a raven came along and disappeared to the north, and he thought that there must be something over there. Three white swans flew over, going in the same direction. Then three jackrabbits went by, and shortly afterward a wolf with the front part of his shoulders painted red went by. Lone Man saw seven buffaloes grazing on a hill to the north, and he thought that he would go there and inquire where they came from. He went to the spot where they had been grazing but could not find them, but he found a sharp-nosed mosquito mouse with her six young ones.

Mosquito Mouse said to Lone Man, "You are slowly losing your mind. I have been trying to make you understand what is happening. When you see a raven fly by, that represents your cap; the white swans represent your lance; the three jackrabbits represent your anklets; the wolf represents the robe you are wearing. Hoita has every living thing captive inside of Dog Den Butte. You should go there to see what you can do to protect your people. Then you can have your own ceremony just like Hoita is performing. You should have some young man dress up like Hoita, and, if he comes around, have the young man say 'I am your son because you walked with my mother,' but if he says he never walked with her, say 'She put your medicine bundle against her heart and that is why I was born.' "

After the talk with the mouse Lone Man went on to Dog Den Butte.[6] He saw nothing outside except a few rabbits running around. He changed himself

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[2] The speckled eagle.

[3] He is addressed here as "the old one."

[4] These are buttes of Northeast McLean County, N.D.

[5] For a similar Hidatsa myth concerning Dog Den Butte see Beckwith, *op. cit.*, pp. [illegible].

[6] Note that in the other origin myth of the Okipa, recorded above (chap. iv), the ceremony was believed to have originated downstream near the White River in South Dakota. According to native accounts, differences in myths explaining the origin and significance of the same ceremony were common. Informants would say, "the people of the other villages would tell somewhat different stories, but the ceremony was performed in the same way in all the villages."

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into a rabbit from the roughlands, but they were afraid of him. He ate the cactus, too, and toward morning they all went into the den.

Hoita said, "You are Lone Man; you are not a rabbit."

That evening they were having a dance, and they used a dried buffalo hide rolled up for the drum. There were two blue herons standing beside the drummers, picking up the bugs that were beaten from the hide. He saw everything that went on inside Dog Den Butte, and then he went back to his village toward morning. They were having a famine in the village. He decided to do just as the mouse had advised. He found an intelligent young man whose mother had walked with the Hoita and told him that a famine was coming and that they should perform the ceremony to free the animals. He called the old people together and told them of his plans. He instructed the young man who was to impersonate the real Hoita.

He secured a dry buffalo hide for the drum and selected two young men with long legs to stand by the drum and impersonate the herons picking up the bugs. Instead of worms they had corn balls to pick up. Lone Man didn't like the hide for a drum and brought in a beaver, but after the beaver was hit a few times, it was broken. He then brought out a badger, but that animal could not stand the blows either. The third time he brought a common turtle, but it could not stand the blows. He could see that it would take something very strong to stand the blows, so he went south to the ocean, and there he found the ocean turtle in the water near a sand bar. He put his pipe before the large ocean turtles, and they smoked. The leader of the turtles asked, "What is it that you want of me?"

Lone Man replied, "I want something strong enough for a drum in the Buffalo Dance."

The turtle said, "The world is supported on our backs, so we four turtles cannot leave here. You can look us over and made drums like us but of the strongest and thickest buffalo-bull hide."

Lone Man went back to the village and secured the hides. He used the thickest part of the neck and sewed it up with the heaviest of hide lace. He sewed an extra piece of hide on the turtles' backs so that, when a hole wore into the back, he could take the piece off and sew a new one in place. The framework was of oak which were the trees that the turtles were supporting on their backs. He put a little buffalo of buffalo sheddings inside of each and instructed the people that the turtles should be repaired secretly in a bullboat anchored in the Missouri River. Young men made offerings of speckled eagle feathers to fashion a collar for each turtle.[7]

Hoita was using a hide rolled up for the drum in his ceremony inside of Dog Den Butte, but Lone Man used the turtles, and the sound was so loud that it could be heard far away in Dog Den Butte. Hoita wanted to know what was going on, so he sent Swift Fox out. The fox went to the village to learn how the people were getting along. Lone Man knew what was being done, so he sent the men out to make a fox trap and bait it with a buffalo rib. The fox came near the village and was caught in the trap. The men tied the rib around the fox's neck and sent him back to Dog Den Butte.

The next day Hoita sent Red Fox out to see what was going on. He was also caught in the trap, and again the men tied a buffalo rib around the fox's neck and sent him home.

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[7] This is the correct description of the turtle drums. Maximilian errs in describing them as sacks filled with water.

The third day First Creator went out and ran over to Lone Man's village 773 He saw that the people were doing well and stayed there.

Red Fox said, "Hoita, you are there yourself," and Hoita went over to see 539 for himself.

Lone Man knew that Hoita was coming and announced it to the people. The people thought that they would fool Hoita so they made four corn balls and placed them in a row so that he would pass them as he approached the ceremonial lodge. Hoita came in and saw a young man in his place and inquired what right he had to impersonate the real Hoita.

The young man said, "You are my father."

Hoita said, "I never walked with your mother."

The boy replied, "I got into my mother's body the time she put the sage which you gave her next to her breast."

Hoita was suspicious and said, "Get up. I want to look at you. I didn't know that I had a son. Look at me." Every time he looked toward Hoita, lightning came from his eyes. The light came from the fireflies that Lone Man had put in the young man's eyes. Hoita decided that the boy was his son. This was the first time that the turtles were used.

There are many words in the ceremony which are not understood today because the meanings have changed. We understand enough of the words in the songs and ritual to know that they refer to pieces of buffalo meat and the dust raised by the herds when they are running.

Hoita went back to Dog Den Butte and told the animals that they could leave. He sent the black-tail deer to the badlands, the white-tail deer to the timber, the bears to the points in the river, the buffaloes to the flat, and the antelopes to the hills. "The Mandan can go out now and find plenty of meat. All the people will be happy. Lone Man and I will work together, for I have a son in that village." All these people were Nuptadi, and I am one of them myself.

The people were accustomed to cross the water to trade for shells in Maniga's village. They had a boat that would carry twelve men, and it would cross merely by saying, "Go." These shells were on an island. Lone Man wanted to go also, so thirteen were in the boat that time. It was rough in the middle of the water. They landed and went to Maniga's village. The people in that village were accustomed to kill off the Mandan by having them eat, drink, and smoke too much. Then the women of the tribe were offered to the Mandan. The Mandan had brought a sunflower which they had hollowed and through which they passed the food and water. A man with the medicine of the tobacco bee came along, so they were not taken sick from smoking. They used a buffalo tail from which the hair had been removed to overcome the last barrier. Then Maniga's people brought out the shells in large sacks for the Mandan to take back to their village.

Maniga announced that he would return the visit in four days, which meant four years. He came as the flood.[8] Lone Man built a wall around the village, and all went inside. The water came as high as the band on the outside of the wall and could not come higher. This band was of the water willow, but in recent years young cottonwoods are being used.

Maniga liked skunkskins. When the water was at its highest point, he threw the shells over the wall. The sacred cedar is a symbol of the flood in

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[8] Catlin records a variant of this flood story (George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I [Philadelphia, 1857], 177–78).

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miniature. The cedar represents Lone Man and all the people; the enclosure is the wall he built around the people to protect them from the flood; the band of water willow surrounding the wall represents the highest point reached by the water. After the flood, the water went down in a few days, and there was dry land again.

Lone Man was well built and very good-looking. He never married while he was in the tribe. Whenever there were hard times, he helped the people.

There was a good, young woman in one of the villages who never went out with any of the young men. Burrs got into her dress, and she went into her mother's lodge to search for them. She had taken off her dress and was standing just under the smokehole when a shadow passed over like when the sun is shaded by a cloud. She thought that there was someone on the roof so she hid herself. Not long after that she heard someone singing inside her. Her family could not understand it. In a short time the pain inside nearly killed her. That night a child was born to her, but it disappeared immediately in the darkness. She called her family, and they built up the fire. The child was black in color with white spots. He was jumping up and down, and the family could not do anything with him. He grew very fast. He was always jumping or running about, and they could not do anything with him.

One day his grandfather was making arrows and tipping them with speckled eagle feathers. The boy liked them and wanted to wear some of the feathers in his hair. His grandfather fixed him up a bunch of these feathers. He asked his grandfather for a cane. and he tied a ball on one end of it. One day he wanted to go outside, but they were afraid to let him go outside for fear that he would run away. He begged, and they let him go out. He made great leaps, running up the sides of the lodges. It was great entertainment for the people. His name was OxinhEdE,[9] or Foolish One. He went out among the high hills, jumping from one hill to the other. He killed the sacred snakes and many other things that the people worshiped. He even killed the Holy Women who lived in the ash thickets. All the gods met to decide what should be done with him. Since these gods were working for the benefit of the Mandan, they decided to kill the little black boy.

Foolish One asked the people to make four warbonnets. While they were working on the warbonnets, a heavy fog came up. He went out and returned several times, but at last he did not return. When the fog raised, his father came down from the sun and found his son lying dead on the prairie. He met Lone Man and inquired who had killed the boy. All the spirits that had been present when the boy was killed fled and hid in the Killdeer Mountains. At that time they were in one block, but the black man hit the mountains with his club and broke them into two pieces, leaving them as we see them today, one being the head and the other the body.

The elder Foolish One was painted black all the time. He asked Lone Man what should be done with the body. They came to a large rock. Lone Man hit it with his staff, and it split open. They put the boy inside and squeezed the rock together again. This rock is near one of the old villages at Heart River. Foolish One went back to the sun.

At that time there were four turtles. The people thought a great deal of them. These turtles liked the tail feathers of the speckled eagles and the bald eagles. One was the leader of the turtles. The people gave him a feather of the yearling calumet eagle, and he became angry. This happened on the east side of the Missouri River, opposite and a little above Standing Rock. They could not hold the turtle, and Lone Man was away. A man who was good at thinking said, "I will do that," for Lone Man had said that he would return in spirit if the people would only think of him. Lone Man returned this time. He split the water with his lance, and the turtle lay on the bottom of the river. Lone Man said, "What is the matter?"

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[9] For another version of the incident centering around this character see *ibid.*, pp. 280–81.

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The turtle replied, "I am angry. I guess they can get along without me."

Lone Man went to the southwest. Before leaving he said, "When people think of me, I will answer as the south wind."

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

The world was sandy and watery in the beginning. When the Lone Man whom we call NumakmaxEna came to himself, he had been walking for a long time.

He said, "Who am I? Where did I come from?"

He turned back and saw his tracks in the sand and decided to follow them and learn where he had come from. At the end of his trail he found a large plant [I′datæ′ki] about a foot high. It was green with white stripes on the leaves and had a red flower. It was growing in a spring. He wondered if the plant or the bug was his mother. He turned away from the plant and went his way.

He traveled to many different places and met another man, the First Creator[10] [Ki′numakci or Coyote], who said, "How did you happen to be here?"

"I just found myself walking in the world. I know where I walked, but I don't know whether my mother is the red flower or the bug in the flower. I am older than you are."

First Creator said, "I am the older."

They argued for a long while about it. They decided to lie down where they stood and die there for a long time. There they decayed and were covered with dirt until there were hardly any bones left. First Creator was afraid to get up, while Lone Man thought he was the only man alive. At last Lone Man arose, and Coyote jumped up. Lone Man admitted the other was the older. They decided to call each other the older brothers of the tribe.

Then they decided to fix up the land, for it was too boggy. First Creator took the right side of the Missouri River and Lone Man the left side. They laid out the land to suit themselves, and, when they had finished, they met again. Lone Man said, "I laid out my land flat. I made lakes and only a little timber here and there so that people on the warpath can see a long ways." First Creator said, "I made many ravines, hills, and rocks; I made plenty of springs. I think I made the best land."

They decided to separate, each going his own way. Lone Man came to the Heart River, where there was a hill near by shaped like a heart and he named it Heart Butte. This he decided was to be the "Heart of the World," and this hill is still holy to our people.

He saw a buffalo in a ravine and said, "I haven't seen anything like you since I came here. How did you come here?"

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[10] Also known as Omahank-Numakshi (see Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–3).

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"I just came to myself here. What do you have in your pipe?" asked the Buffalo.

"I am just carrying it around."

The Buffalo said, "You should have something to put in it. I am going to make something for it."

The buffalo dug in the sod and passed water all through the rows of the small garden. Then the Buffalo said, "Go on your way. When you hear loud thunder, you will find your tobacco in this place." When Lone Man heard the noise of the thunder, he returned. He found the tobacco all in blossom. The Buffalo said, "This is your tobacco."

He looked at it. There were many tobacco flies on it. They were the ones who were making the noise. Even today we have them, and they make a loud noise.

The Buffalo picked off the ends of the blossoms and said, "I will get you something to dry your tobacco on." The whole side of his coat came off. "You put your tobacco on this, and, when you think it is dry, come back again." Lone Man left the place and went on his way again.

When he returned, he found his tobacco dry. The buffalo was there, and he gave Lone Man a sack for it. The sack was made of a buffalo bladder.

Buffalo said, "Try your tobacco and see if it is good. Then put the rest of it in your bag." Lone Man tried it and liked it and was glad he got it.

The Buffalo said, "Whenever you are out of it, come back here again, and I will get you some more."

Lone Man left and again traveled all through the land he had made. He thought there should be some people living in the world, and he decided to make some. He took two ends off of his ribs,[11] one on each side and made one into a man and the other a woman. He directed them to stay there and build themselves a lodge. Some time after he had made this man and woman he thought of them again. When he returned, he found that they had children, and he was pleased. He married the boys and girls together and did this several times. That is how they increased. Each time he came back, he united new groups.

He was pleased with the manner in which the tribe grew. In this early time, the men called their wives by the name "sister," but, after the tribe was larger, they called them "wife" instead.

The village grew to be very large, and Lone Man said, "Sometimes I am gone a long time. If anything happens, and you need me, you can call me. I will hear and come back."

Every time the village was in need, they called him. When he came back, he traveled through the air like a shooting star, only not quite so fast, a little more like the lights on a car at night. Whenever any little thing came up, they would call, and he became impatient. He instructed them that if anything happened he would not come back but would look back and that the south wind was the sign that they were being answered. This proved more convenient, and, when the south wind blew, they knew that he was thinking of them and answering their prayers.

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[11] The other informants stated that a mudhen brought up clay after the world was made and that this earth was shaped into a man and a woman. The notion of shaping a figure and producing life from it is also expressed in the making of a clay doll by a barren woman desiring children. Curtis also secured similar information of Iron Eyes, his Mandan informant. Another myth speaks of coming from underground, bringing corn up with them.

After the people increased, and the Corn People had come from below, and the Sky People from above, the village was so large that they had to divide it. The number of villages grew until there were five. Lone Man often came back at night and saw how happy they were. This pleased him.

When the villages had grown in number until there were five, he thought he ought to be born in the tribe again so that he could be one of the people. He went to the village and climbed upon the earth lodges to look about, but he had difficulty in finding a suitable young woman to be his mother. In the first four villages he found the girls all foolish about the young men. In the fifth village he found a young woman that he was satisfied with, so he decided he would have her for his mother and be born from her. She had no lovers but went about her business when out in the village. He didn't know just how to get into her body. He thought he would get into her food, but the kernel of corn he hid in fell out of the bowl onto the ground, so he failed in that attempt. He tried other schemes, but in each he failed.

One day the girl and her mother went out into the garden to hoe the corn. While working there, the sun was hot and the girl became thirsty. She ran down to the river to get a drink. The water was up to the willows, and a dead buffalo came floating by near the edge of the river. Its back was cut open, so that the kidney fat was sticking out. She pulled the animal to the bank and ate some of the fat. Then she tied the animal fast to a willow while she ran to tell her mother what she had found. When they returned, the buffalo was gone. They never found it, but the willows were still there. This was the way Lone Man got into her body.

The two women went back home, and there the girl described a peculiar feeling inside of her. The mother told her that she was in a family way. Her mother wanted to know how she got in such a condition, unless she knew some young man. She asked her to name him, but the girl insisted that she had never been intimate with any of the young men. The mother said it was impossible to be in such a condition otherwise. So this was the way that our chief god came to be one of us.

At the time the pains came on, the girl told her mother about them. Her father was one of the chiefs of the fifth village (Nuptadi) of the Mandan. When he learned about this he said, "Whoever you are in there, come out and stop your mother's pains," and Lone Man came right out.

He knew everything they did from the beginning. They had only buffalo robes to wrap him in, but they took good care of him. He grew up in the tribe and became a child of the village. The mother was ashamed to be out in the village and seldom was seen in the company of others. This young boy lived with his grandfather. Every time the grandfather painted himself, Lone Man painted his own forehead red with the paint the grandfather had given him in a little paint bag.

He played with the other small boys, and the other chief of the village often watched them from his seat on the earth lodge. He saw the small boys with robes over them imitating buffaloes running into a small cave they had dug. He noticed that every time they ran in, one of them was a real buffalo calf. He watched the next day, and there was a real calf again. He watched them for four days and concluded that this young buffalo must be the poor fatherless boy. He was much concerned about this; everything was so strange and unlike anything he had ever heard of before. If this could be true, he must make friends with this boy, and possibly the boy would give him some of his powers to enable him to rise to the place of first chief of the village. He asked his wife to invite the boy over and give him the finest foods.

Lone Man told the people he had a name, Muska′ Ko′oma, meaning "Wild Animal Foating." Each day the second chief's wife called to Muska′ Ko′oma to come and eat. The food set before him was made from sunflowers, beans, corn, and pumpkins boiled together. When the boy finished eating, the second chief gave him a spotted eagle feather to play with. The boy liked it so much that he took it home with him. When he returned, he gave the feather to his grandfather. After this he was invited to eat with the second chief frequently, because the boy's powers were plainly seen by that time. He would tell the chief that at a certain time so many buffaloes would come near the village, and the men would go out and always find them. Everyone knew he was a spirit, or he could not predict these things.

In another village, a spirit also grew up by being born into a woman who had never had intercourse with any man. This man was the Spotted Eagle, but the Mandan called him Hoita. Both of these spirits grew up in their own villages; Hoita was the eagle spirit; Lone Man was the buffalo. The people came to recognize the two spirits and made offerings to them. White buffalo robes were considered valuable, and both of these spirits liked them. But one time a man possessing one of these robes got up on the earth lodge and offered it to Hoita. Lone Man became jealous because the people had been giving so many things to the other man.

He thought, "You won't have that robe, Hoita." He went to Thunder and said, "I want you to work for me."

"All right," Thunder said.

"You rain and wet Hoita's robe; soak through the roof and wet it well." Thunder did as directed, and then Lone Man went to Whirlwind and asked him to work for him.

He said, "When Hoita takes his robe out to dry, carry it far away from the village where people will find it."

The rain came and soaked the robe, and then the sun came out. Hoita took the robe out of the lodge and hung it on a scaffold to dry. Whirlwind came and carried it away. Thus Hoita lost his fine white buffalo robe. It was carried far away to the southeast. There were other people living in that direction, and some men looking for buffaloes found the robe. They said, "We will fix this robe up and take it to the Missouri River, for the Mandan place great value on these hides."

This robe was brought to Lone Man's village and bought by the chief. One day the chief climbed onto his earth lodge and offered the robe to Lone Man. When Hoita heard of this, he said, "Let him have it; they have been giving me many things lately." But one day Lone Man took his beautiful white robe out in the sun to air. Hoita saw that it resembled his, and he realized that a trick had been played on him.

Hoita vowed revenge for losing his white robe, so he put on the Buffalo Dance in Dog Den Butte. This was the first time it was ever given. He called all the buffaloes away from around the villages and herded them together in the Dog Den Butte. Every form of living thing was brought into this hill, which resembled a large earth lodge on the inside. The people on the outside were starving, and there was hardly any game to be found. Lone Man would go out in search of game, but he could not find any either, but he did find the bones of dead animals on the prairies. These he ordered taken to the village and broken open for the marrow. He would touch these bones with his sacred headdress and sing his sacred songs. There came a time when there was no longer any marrow in the bones.

All this time he knew Hoita was the one who was doing this, but he did not know just how to get around it and bring the animals back. One day he was on a hill wandering about, wondering what he should do, when he saw a raven flying northward followed by a swan, then a wolf, and finally seven buffaloes. He thought how good it was to see them, but when he ran over where they had been, he discovered that they had disappeared.

Finally he heard a feeble voice in the grass say, "We are here, but you can't see us."

He looked into the grass and saw seven tiny mosquito mice with long pointed noses. One said, "This Hoita has got everything in Dog Den Butte, and we are the last to go in. He has all the animals in there. Just a little while ago you saw a raven go by. That raven was your headdress. The swan was part of your headdress too. That wolf was your robe. We are the last ones, and we are going too. Before you know it, if you don't look out, your sacred pipe will roll down the hill into the Dog Den Butte."

The mosquito mice told Lone Man everything and added in leaving as a warning, "If you don't look out, you will be trapped. We are the last ones. You ought to change into a jackrabbit. There are three kinds of jackrabbits, so you tell Hoita that you are a fourth kind and come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell him your legs are longer than the other rabbits and that you jump over the sage brush, hills, trees, and coulees. Tell him that out in the Rocky Mountains you heard of the things going on down here because his medicine was so strong. You must practice passing your manure so that you always pass seven at each leap. He will ask what you eat. Tell him your favorite food is the cactus plant. You must practice eating from the cactus, since he will ask you to eat some. The jackrabbits are turned out of the Dog Den Butte when evening comes, and you must run among them. Tell them you are the fourth kind and that you come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell Hoita that everything must be done by fours, and he will believe you."

He changed himself into a rabbit, and, when he reached the Dog Den Butte, the other three rabbits ran away from him until he told them that he was from the Rocky Mountains. They believed him, and he went into the butte with them.

When they got inside, Hoita asked, "There are only three kinds of rabbits. What is that other fellow doing here? There is no fourth rabbit."

"I am the rabbit from the Rocky Mountains and that is why I am larger than the others. I heard about your taking all the animals in here," he replied.

"All right, if you are a rabbit, pass manure as a rabbit," Hoita demanded. He passed seven each time he leaped just as the mosquito mice had directed.

The mosquito mice had instructed that he should watch everything that happened in the hill and picture everything in his mind. He should observe the arrangement of the lodge, the steps of the dances, and learn the songs sung. When he got back to his own village, he should find a young man who looked like Hoita and have him impersonate Hoita in a big animal ceremony like that taking place in the Dog Den Butte, and have him do all the things that they

773 were doing in the hill. When everything was done just like in the hill, the Mandan would overcome their starvation.

•539 Before he entered the hill, he changed himself into a spider. He crawled down from a rafter until he was near where the singers were. From his hiding place overhead, he looked down and observed everything. After he learned all the steps of this animal ceremony, he returned to his own village but left the fourth rabbit in Dog Den Butte. He told the people that the only way to get away from starvation was to put on the Buffalo Dance (Okipa), for that would make Hoita open the hill and free the animals.

He selected for the leader the man in the village who looked the most like Hoita and gave him instructions for the ceremony. One of the largest lodges was cleaned out for the purpose, since in those days the Mandan did not have a special ceremonial lodge. He informed the leader that he should claim to be the son of Hoita, since Hoita would come over from Dog Den Butte when the new ceremony was given and inquire concerning their right to give the ceremony.

Lone Man said, "Tell him that he once 'walked' with your mother and that you came from that relation. He will remember that and call you his son." The young man agreed. He looked just like Hoita, only younger, and the people were pleased to have such a near-likeness. It is said that when the real Hoita opened his eyes at night, light flashed out of them. Knowing that Hoita would ask the young man to open his eyes, fireflies were put into his eyes. Hoita would ask to see his eyes, and would know the young man was his son when he saw the eyes flash.

The Buffalo ceremony began then. To begin with, a long dry buffalo hide was used for the drum, but, when the people struck the hide, worms came out. So only the Hoxa, ones who had the blue herons as gods, were allowed to beat the hide.

After the ceremony got under way, the real Hoita said, "We have kept all these animals from the Mandan so they probably are all dead by this time."

He sent Red Fox out. He found the Mandan all dancing and having a good time, and the ceremony was just the same as the one going on in the Dog Den Butte. Then Hoita sent out Gray Fox, and he reported the same thing, but Hoita did not believe that it could be true. He sent the magpie out, and the magpie returned complaining, "They are all having a good time, and here you have kept us all shut up here while they are doing all the things we are."

Hoita said, "I will go myself and see," just as the mosquito mouse had said he would when the fourth time came.

Lone Man had corn balls prepared for Hoita. The mice had told him that he should search for corn, sunflowers, beans, and squash to make into balls and to have them ready so that when the real Hoita came there will be some on the outside where he will step on them. Hoita would then wonder about this because he would expect to find all the people starved.

Hoita came just as the mice said he would. He stepped on the two corn balls and turned to the boy who resembled the real Hoita and inquired, "What right have you to be in my place?"

The boy answered, "I am your son."

Hoita replied, "I have no son. You have insulted me by claiming me as your father. How does it come that you are my son?"

The young Hoita said, "I know you are my father because my mother was given to you once to walk with. My mother took the bundle of sage you had in your hand. That sage conceived me."

"If you are my son, open your eyes and look at me," Hoita demanded. When he opened them, something like lightning came out and flashed to the top of the earth lodge. Hoita was convinced and said, "All right, you are my son. I remember the time your mother was given to me. It is good that they put you in my place.[12] Now all these people will be free because you are my son." He turned to Lone Man and said, "You are very smart. You have put my son in place of me, and now we shall not work against each other any more."

He set the animals free as well and told them that the people had not starved. It was the Okipa that the buffaloes had been dancing in Dog Den Butte. From that time on, Hoita and Lone Man co-operated for the good of the people, but Lone Man continued to be the more powerful.

In the Okipa the Mandan first used a drum made of a dried buffalo hide with the hair off and rolled up. When they beat the hide, worms came out of it, and the blue heron was kept near by to eat them. Lone Man did not like the worms and looked around for a substitute.

First he went to the beaver and asked if he would be a drum for the Okipa and let himself be hit on the back, but the beaver said, "I am just a weak thing even though I can cut down big trees. If you hit me once, I would be smashed to the ground."

Lone Man went to the badger, but the badger said he was not strong enough. Then he went to the otter, but the otter claimed to be too weak. He roamed all over the world until he came to the ocean which is southeast of us a few days' march below the Cannonball River. At the ocean, as far out on the water as he could see there were a few very large trees. There were the largest oak trees he had ever seen. He wanted to learn why they were there, so he went out skimming along on the water. He was curious to know if there was land underneath them or whether they just grew out of the water. He carried a sacred staff called *dawo'dokidi* in his hand, and he pointed it down at what was the bottom of the water, and the way opened up so that he could see everything beneath him. There was a large turtle at the bottom of the ocean, and it was holding the trees up.

He said, "I have been looking for something to use for my drum, and I believe you are just what I am looking for."

Turtle replied, "You can't use me because the whole world is attached to me."

Lone Man stuck his sacred lance under the turtle, and everything moved but the turtle. It would not come loose.

Turtle said, "You can look me over and make your drums just like me."

Lone Man looked the turtle over, first on one side and then the other until he had every part of him in mind. He went back to the villages and made turtles just like he had seen. He secured the thickest buffalo-bull hide, and he sewed it up so that it was exactly like a turtle. The wood he used for the legs was of the oak that the turtle in the ocean was holding up. He made four of these turtles, three were of the same size and one a smaller one, and he named the last one "the lean turtle."

When he finished his job, he had the people put the feathers on. Feathers of the speckled eagle were put all over the head, for the buffaloes like speckled eagle feathers. Whenever offerings are made to the buffaloes, the speckled feathers are used even today.

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[12] For details of the "walking" rites of the Buffalo-calling ceremony see chap. xiv, "Red Stick Ceremony."

One of the turtles was called the leader. In addition to the speckled feathers, calumet-eagle down was put on his head, but he became angry because he thought it was a snowbird's feather.

He said, "I am going back to the ocean," and he started toward the river. The people tied ropes to him and lashed him to the corn scaffolds to keep him from escaping. Nothing could hold him back when he started. He pulled all the people into the river. There is a place still to be seen where he dragged them into the river. It is marked by a little gully. This place is below the Heart River on the east side of the Missouri.

The escaped turtle said, "You will have three turtles for the dance, but I am going back to the ocean." We have kept the other three since that time, but several times we came near losing them, and it is because they are so holy that they never went away.

When Nuptadi Village was burned by the Sioux, the lodge they were in was burned, but the turtles produced water which protected them, although their feather collars were burned off.[13] Lone Man told the people that sometimes the turtles would need mending. The last man to mend them was Moves Slowly, my father. The turtles were taken to the river and put in a buffalo bullboat and floated out into the river. The boat was fastened to a snag, and the turtles were repaired in the boat, out there in the water. Lone Man told the people that there was a little buffalo in each turtle. While repairing one a long time ago, a man stuck in his entire finger and felt the sheddings of the tiny buffalo. He could hear the breathing. So we are told that a little buffalo was put in. When there were going to be many buffaloes, the turtles became very heavy, but now they are very light. The turtles were used to bring the buffaloes near the villages.

Once our people lived beside a large lake. They had a large boat in those times that was able to carry twelve people. On the other side of the lake was a large tribe of people whose chief was named Maniga. This boat would go by its own power; all the people needed to do was to point it and say, "Go." In the middle of this lake there was a rough place, and sometimes it seemed that the boat would surely tip over. When the people neared the shore, the red willows would turn into warriors and wrestle with them. Beyond the willows was the village of which Maniga was chief. The Mandan crossed this lake for shells which were very numerous on that shore, but they could not get them without being seen by these people. Maniga always called his people together whenever the Mandan came across. He would supply so much food, water, tobacco, and women that many of the Mandan died of excessive indulgence. If they did as they were ordered, Maniga gave them great quantities of shells. They crossed every summer, and the hardships encountered always killed several of the party.

Lone Man said he would go over. He took along a man named Bull Spirit who had the medicine of the water plants and could drink forever. Another man had the medicine of the buffalo that eats all the time. The third man had the medicine of the tobacco bee that lives on the tobacco plant but never gets sick. Lone Man went to protect his people and free themselves from the Maniga. He quieted the rough water and weakened the young men who were the red willows of the bank. They went directly to Maniga's village and ordered the women to bring out the food, water, and tobacco which was already prepared for them. The man with the spirit of the water plants complained of not having enough to drink; the man with the spirit of the buffalo complained of not having enough to eat; the man with the spirit of the tobacco bee complained of the weak tobacco; Lone Man complained that not enough women had been supplied him. Maniga observed that none of the Mandan died and that this party was not like the others. He realized that Lone Man had outwitted him.

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[13] This village was destroyed about 1785.

Maniga said, "You people have gone too far."

Lone Man replied, "It is you who have gone too far, doing all these things before giving my people the shells they need so much."

Maniga gave a large bag of shells to each of the Mandans. Someone put a dead dog in their path, and one of the men kicked it out of the way. Maniga accused the Mandan of being murderers, one of the worst insults the Mandan knew.

Maniga said, "I will visit your village within the next four days," but that meant within the next four years.

When the party returned to the Mandan village on the other side of the lake, Lone Man began preparations for the flood. A cedar post was put up in the center of the village which was to represent Lone Man. Before that time the villages did not have the large open center like they did after the cedar post was put up. A wooden fence around the cedar was to represent the fortifications, and the wood used to tie around the wall was of water willow. We notice that, when the river rises in the spring, it never gets about the bank where the water willows grow, so they must have the power of keeping the waters down.

When the floods came that summer, the waters reached to the willows tied around the wall of the cedar. This cedar protected the people against the flood when Maniga came over. The boat was lost because a foolish boy said, in fun, "Go on your way," and it never returned. This boat was called I'dEHE or "to go with."

We have had the sacred cedar ever since we lived beside the lake a long time ago. Some people think this lake was under the ground and that we left it when we came up out of the ground. Others think it is on top of the ground. The young men who went to the world war thirteen years ago say that the lake is still there and that it is still rough in the center but that it is on top of the ground. I am sure that we once lived beside a lake a long time ago because I have heard so many stories about them. Our old people must have got some of their stories mixed because they tell of coming out of the ground as a tribe and also of the making of the world on top at the Heart River. Others say they came from the sky.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE SACRED PIPE RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[14]

Long ago there was a man running on the water. He was thinking. He wondered where he came from, so he turned around and came to a big flower that grows in water around springs. This flower has a blossom reddish in color. One of the branches was broken down, so he decided that this was where he came from. They called this flower "Great Medicine" after that.

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[14] This is one of the origin myths of the Okipa ceremony.

When he learned that he came from the plant, he wondered who his father was. Someone said, "I am your father," and he thought that it was the day, "the First Day of Creation." All this time he was walking along on the water. Soon he saw another man walking on the water, too, and he went up to the other. He saw that the other man was painted and had feathers on his head. He inquired of the other man where he came from, and the other said he came from far to the south. The two went off together on the water, and at a distance they saw a black spot. They wondered what it was and went there and discovered that it was a little black diving duck.

They questioned the bird saying, "Where did you come from and what are you doing here?"

The bird replied, "I just came to myself here."

"What do you eat to build up your body and live?" they inquired.

The bird said, "When I get hungry, I dive down a long distance. Sometimes I am almost exhausted, but I find dirt and sand there. You can see that I have been down there so many times that my eyes are red."

The two men talked about it and wanted the bird to go for some dirt to make the earth from.

The bird went down and brought up some dirt and handed it to them. It was only a little bit. As they handled it, it grew to the size of a ball. Lone Man divided up the earth into two pieces and gave half to First Creator. He told First Creator to build the west side while he built the east side. We say that the west side is the woman and the other side is the man. They worked on the land, and then they came together. They decided that the center of the earth would be at Heart River and that the river would be the "Heart of the World." On the south side of the Heart River they made the Heart Butte with the dirt First Creator had left over. The Missouri River was in the center between the two sides. On the east side there is a small butte which was made up of the earth that was left over and was called "Big Hill."

After they finished making the land there was nothing growing on it. It was sandy and bare. When they looked over their earth, they saw a little track on it. Upon looking around, they came to the end of the tracks and found a little black mouse. She said, "I was born myself."

They said, "She is going to be our grandmother."

Again they went along and came to another track. When they came to the end, there was a large turtle. They asked him where he came from, and he said that he was born by himself right there.

They traveled along and found a few grass plants here and there. Then they came to a larger track, so they followed the track until they came to a buffalo standing there. They asked him where he came from, and he said, "I came from myself without any parents."

They asked him what he ate and he said, "I am eating these few plants of the grass that are growing on the land here." Then he added, "While you are traveling along you will hear a loud noise; come toward it, for I will be there doing much good. I will fix you some tobacco."

The two men did not know what the tobacco was, and Buffalo said, "You will see what the tobacco is when you come."

They asked him to fix the tobacco at once, and the buffalo agreed. He passed water in spots and then walked off. In places there was something growing.

In less than a year the two men who had been traveling around began to

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come back in that direction. They decided that Lone Man wanted the east or left side and that First Creator could work on the west side. They decided to separate and go to work. They began to work on the two sides, making the hills, creeks, and trees. They made the different animals and birds also. No one knows how long it took to make the earth. After they finished the land, the hills, lakes, and living things, they met to discuss what each had done.

Lone Man said, "I made almost flat land, with lakes and timber far to the east."

First Creator said, "I have made deep ravines with many springs and much shelter for the game."

Lone Man said, "I made all the different kinds of stock with long horns and mixed colors of red, white, and black. How did you make your animals?"

He replied, "I have made the animals with short horns and hump backs. Since the side I made was the woman, I made much rough land with plenty of shelter. After a while we should go out and look over the land we have made. We will see first how you did."

They went out together to see how Lone Man had made it. They saw all the flat land and the living things and how they were made.

First Creator said, "You made a mistake; the animals are too mixed. Because the land is so flat storms will kill off some of the animals, for there are no shelters or windbreaks. These animals that you made do not have enough hair. With such level land I do not think they will live. I tell you what we will do; we will send all the animals across the ocean to that other land that we made. It may be that in the future they can be used again."

Then they decided to come back to the west side that First Creator had made and examine that. They saw the buffaloes with plenty of hair to live through the winter; there were plenty of springs, hills, and good shelters. Both agreed then that it would be best that they should have it that way.

All this time they kept hearing a noise far away. They remembered that they had met something a long time before, so they went back to the place where they heard the loud noise. They arrived at the place where they had met the buffalo, and they found the tobacco in blossom. There were insects flying around the plants. They saw that these insects were making the roaring sound.

Buffalo said again, "That is the tobacco that I was going to make; you go back again; I am going to fix you a pipe. When you hear someone bellowing, hurry back again."

They traveled on until they heard the bellowing, and then they started back again. While they were running toward the tobacco, they heard a voice saying, "It has almost come together again."

While the voice was calling, "It has almost come together" a second time, they came to the buffalo. They saw that the stem and the bowl of the pipe had almost come together. The stem of the pipe was the east side and represented man. The part where they put in the tobacco was the west side and represented the woman. If the voice had got to the place where it had all come together, there would have been no Missouri River.

When they came to where the tobacco was, they saw that it looked good. They asked Buffalo how they could fix it up, and he said, "I will fix it." He rolled and some of his hair came out. He fixed it up for them to lay the tobacco on.

They asked how to prepare the tobacco, and Buffalo said they would have

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to grease it. They asked how to grease it, and Buffalo said, "You will have to open up my body and get some of the kidney fat to grease it with."

"How are we going to dry up the tobacco?" they inquired. Buffalo made a fire and showed them how to dry the tobacco and break it up. They asked how they should smoke it, and he showed them how it was done.

After they finished smoking, they went out and traveled along, but nobody knows how long. They were talking among themselves and wondered who was the older. Lone Man said, "We will find out. We will lie on the ground; the one who lies on the ground longest will be the older." Lone Man when traveling had a stick on which were alternating black and white feathers. It was painted red and had a feather on the end. He would often say, "This is my body." He stuck this staff into the ground.

First Creator said, "I am going to lie down as the coyote." Lone Man stuck his staff into the ground to act as his body while he traveled on alone. After two years he came back to the place where First Creator lay on the ground. He found the bones scattered around, but the staff was still standing up straight. After four years were up he went back again and found the staff bent so that the top nearly touched the ground. The feathers were gone. He looked over at First Creator and saw only a few bones then nearly covered with dirt.

He thought, "Poor fellow. He wanted to be older than I."

He pulled out the staff, rubbing his hands over it, and it was new again. The First Creator jumped up, and he was a coyote again. First Creator said, "That is what I said; I was the older, and now I have proved it." They agreed that he was the older, and the people believed it after that incident.

(Nowadays we have cattle of all different colors, but they were mentioned a long time ago. That is why we have them today. They all came from the east.)

After the people appeared on this earth, they learned of the origin of the pipe.

Lone Man said to the Mandan, "I am going to leave you some day and go back home. When there is a change in the world, I will be back again. The sign will be when the Missouri River changes its course and flows in the other direction. Then the big trees will grow in the opposite direction with the roots sticking up at the top. Then the antelopes will have no flesh on the lower part of their breasts. All that will be a sign that I will come back again. At that time the people asked him where he belonged, and he said, "I am the wind from the far south. My home is down there. When it is spring, I will send the warm winds from my home in the warm southland. I belong to the WaxikEna clan. If you run out of wood toward spring, you should say, 'My older brother, I am out of wood.' "

They asked First Creator where he was going to go, and he said, "I am going to be among you people forever." It is pretty hard to get rid of these coyotes. Sometimes those of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans used to talk to Lone Man, saying, "My older brother, I am out of wood, and I want you to send us warm winds to melt all the snow." While they were among these peoples, they did many things.

Since the pipe did not come entirely together, we use two pieces of wood, and so there is a Missouri River. Now they are irrigating up the river and making the waters flow north.

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Lone Man said, "We made land to the south where the ocean is. We made the Fish People, and they will come up this way. You will be all mixed up, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others." And that is the way it was. 773 539 ●

ORIGIN MYTH OF OXINHEDE, OR FOOLISH ONE RELATED BY CROWS HEART[15]

One time there was a woman in the village who had never been around with young men. While returning from her field with the other women she brushed into some burrs, and they fastened to her dress. She went into the lodge to take off the dress and remove the burrs. It was dark in the lodge, so she stood under the opening where the smoke went out. Suddenly she saw a shadow at the smokehole, and she hid herself. In a short time she heard someone inside her singing, and it nearly killed her. In the night a child was born to her, and it disappeared as soon as it was born. She called all the family, and they built a bright fire. He was black. He kept jumping up and down, and they could not do anything with him.

He grew very fast and was never still. He was always running and jumping about. One day his grandfather was making up arrows and tipping them with wing feathers of the speckled eagle. The boy liked them and wanted them over his shoulder in a sheath. The boy took the arrows and went out. This was the first time he had ever been out of the earth lodge, for the people were afraid that he would run away. When he got outside the earth lodge, he ran about, making great leaps, running up the earth lodges, and flitting around to the entertainment of the people.

But this little black boy ran out onto the hills where he killed the sacred snakes and many other holy things. He even killed the wicked women who lived in the earth and crept out at dark to entice men away from their wives. He would not stay away from the sacred things. Finally, all the spirits of the sacred things got together and vowed that he must be killed.

One day there was a heavy fog sent by the spirits of the holy things. When it cleared up, Foolish One was not to be found. In a short time his father came looking for him. His father must have been the Sun or lived in the Sun. He found the boy dead and was very angry. All the people of the village had liked him even though he had been so foolish. The father was very angry and demanded of Lone Man who killed his son. All the spirits that had helped kill little Foolish One became frightened of the Sun spirit and hid in a hole on the top of the Killdeer Mountains. At that time the mountains were solid. The spirit from the Sun hit the mountain with his club and broke it in two parts, so that today there are two parts, the head and the body.

Big Foolish One asked Lone Man what should be done with the little fellow. They came to a big rock, and Lone Man split it with his lance. They put the boy in the rock and fitted the rock back. This rock is near one of our camps on the Heart River. Big Foolish One went back to the Sun, and he never came back again. Many still worship him as a great spirit, and we put him in the Okipa on one of the days of dancing because he was here on earth when Lone Man was here.

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[15] This is a brief summary of the Foolish One, who is represented in the Okipa ceremony. George Catlin (*Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* [Philadelphia, 1857], I, 280–81) records another version of this myth.

Appendix II

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NUPTADI SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

A long time ago the Mandan had no horses. They used dogs to pack their bedding, tepees, and things they took when moving. Each family had quite a few dogs. The camp I am telling of was somewhere south of Mandan. They moved north a little ways to winter in the bottoms around Square Butte Creek. A dog was hitched to a travois with a little boy on it. The dog ran away over the hills chasing a coyote (Kinumakci, the First Creator). This dog came to a ravine and was caught in the brush. He backed up and freed himself, returning to camp without the boy. The boy stood up and cried. He wandered through the ravine until he became very hungry.

While he was walking along, he found a little bow with arrows. Some spirit probably had left it there to save someone's life. He took the bow and arrows and walked along until he saw a buffalo bull. He crept close but not near enough for the arrow to be effective. However, the little fellow hit the bull in the side and pierced its heart. The buffalo fell down dead.

He had no way of butchering the bull. He found a flint knife and opened the buffalo's side near the kidneys. He pulled out the kidneys and part of the liver. He wanted some fat also, so he put a stone under one of the legs and kept hitting the end of the bone to make it break, so he could get the marrow out. Finally, he broke the bone. A piece flew away whistling.

As soon as the fragment struck the ground, he could hear a little baby crying. He went over to see what it was, and, when he got there, he saw that a little newborn baby girl was lying there. He took the baby in his arms. He didn't know what to do with her but finally decided to pull out some of the buffalo head hair to lay the baby on.

About that time, a magpie[2] came and built a fire to cook the food. They cooked and ate. Then Coyote came. He was Kinumakci, the First Creator. He said that he was going to cook some meat and eat it. After he ate he said, "Little brother, bring me some gray sage."

The boy brought in a little bunch of gray sage. The man then took some charcoal and burned the sage to produce smoke. He said to the boy, "Bring the baby here; she is our sister."

The man took the little baby and put her over the smoke, raising her up and down. He said, "I want her to grow." When he put the baby on the ground, she started to walk.

"Bring her back again," he commanded.

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[1] For another relation of this same myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 96–102.

[2] The magpie is always associated with the Holy Women.

The child was put over the smoke again, and this time the baby could run about. The third time the little girl was put on the fire he talked to her. He said, "Grow little girl, grow!"

This time she could walk, jump around, and talk. But this wasn't enough. So he made more smoke by adding more sage to the fire and raised the girl up and down in the smoke. Then she was large enough to work at tanning hides and cooking meals.

The man said, "This is enough. You have a girl big enough to cook and care for you. I must leave and travel around."

By this time the boy had become a young man. After First Creator left, the boy set to work building a bark tepee[3] or lodge with four posts on the inside. When the girl was a little older, she was a great worker. She could cut up meat and tan the hides as good as any old woman.

She said to her brother, "This lodge of ours is too small; we must make a larger one."

They went out into the woods and burned trees with crotches (the fire was blown around the base by means of a hollow reed) to use for the four posts. They built an earth lodge with plenty of room to live in comfortably.

The girl said, "Brother, it doesn't look right for you to be single; you should get married."

The boy said, "Where am I going to find a wife?"

The girl replied, "Do you want to get married?"

The brother said, "Yes, if you can get me a good wife."

The girl went off and came back. She said, "I have found some girls, but they do not want to marry you on account of your quick temper."

The boy said, "All right, I'll stay single. I have been able to get along all these years. I guess I can get along for the rest of my life."

The sister answered, "Well, don't give up so soon; I will try again."

She went off again. The second time she came back and said that two girls were coming to see him. Then she set to work cooking up dry meat in preparation for a big feast. That night two very pretty girls came. She gave them plenty to eat. While they were eating, she said that she had to go out for firewood so she left them alone with her brother.

The girls said to the young man, "Is it true that you would like us for wives?"

He said, "Yes, but my sister tells me that you do not like me on account of my temper. If you girls think me too mean, leave me alone."

The sisters answered, "No. It is the other way. It is your sister who is mean. She is going to kill you some day. In the night when you sleep, she gets up and goes out to kill people. She puts their scalps on her robe. Her elkhide robe is covered with scalps except in one place on the shoulder. She wants to fill that space with your scalp and intends to do that."

After these two sisters had spoken they went home.

The boy said to his sister, "I am going to kill a young female elk, and I want you to make a robe for me."

All this time she had an elkhide robe of her own hanging up in a bundle. The boy had never seen her wear it. He always wondered why she didn't use that robe. One day he took it down to open it, but, before he did, he smoked sweet grass which grew in low places in the timber. Inside of the robe bundle

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[3] Eagle-trapping lodge type.

773 there were many clam shells. He wra
up as before. He suspected then that
•539 Many nights she was away; many times when he awoke near daybreak she was cooking something, the nature of which he did not recognize. Once he asked her what she was cooking and eating. She wouldn't tell, saying, "I thought you were sound asleep."

One day the boy went away hunting, and the sister was home alone. She said, "I am going to fix up my robe now." She burned sweet grass for the robe, and then she took it down and opened the bundle. When she opened it, the shells were as she had left them. She laid the robe out; it wasn't very large, only two feet square. She had a number of little round scalps and clam shells. She put the scalps on the robe and then placed a clam shell over each. Then the scalps stuck to the robe. She put them in rows. One place was left in front of the shoulder.

She said, "I thought I had enough, but I haven't. I will need one more scalp. I think I will have to get his scalp and put it there. He worked hard to raise me, but I think I will get his scalp for that place nevertheless."

The time when the boy was supposed to be out hunting, he really did not go but stayed near by and hid. He heard everything that she said and then set out for the hunt. When the sister was looking at her own robe, she took down her brother's robe and a blaze of fire came forth.

"Ah," she said, "he has power, too!"

He came back from hunting and told his sister that he had killed some game near by and that she should go out with her hide basket and bring in the meat. Her basket was shaped like a corn basket, but it was covered with hide. She went after the meat.

The girls had told him that, when he escaped from the lodge, he should hide in White Clay Tepee where they lived, or his sister would kill him. While she was out gathering the meat, the boy thought that he would escape. He pondered a plan for getting out. He thought he would go through the smokehole so that she would not see his tracks. He stuck an arrow in the center of the fireplace.

He picked a louse from his head and said to it, "When my sister comes and calls, put her off. Tell her to wait a little while."

He put the louse on the ground. Then he stepped on the arrow and went out through the smokehole, taking his elkskin robe with him. In a little while she came back. She found the door blocked with poles.

She said, "Open it. What are you doing?"

The louse said, "Wait a while; I am busy here."

This continued until the sister became angry and broke open the door.

She called, "Where are you? I don't see you."

The louse, still pretending to be her brother answered, "Over here."

She went to the spot where the sound came from and could not find anything because the louse was hidden in the dirt. The sister knew then that the brother had escaped.

She said, "I know where you are." Then she burned sweet grass before her robe, opened it, and put it on her back. She picked up her digging stick and went away, flying into the air, although she didn't have any wings. She soon saw that the boy was almost to the lodge where the other women were living.

She said, "I'll get you before you get there." Just as she was about to

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catch up with the boy, the door opened, and he ran in. The women were inside.

They were angry and said to his sister, "We are the ones who told your brother to come in here in order that he might save his life."

The boy's name was One Feather on the Head (Wo'kide), and the girl's name was Feather on the Head Woman (O'kimi'hE). The girls and the boy had digging sticks, too. Each time they hit at the sister, she would go up in the air, so they could only hit her legs.

The boy said, "I'll get her." He came out with his bow and arrows. While the sister was fighting, she had two magpie feathers stuck in the back of her head. The brother took his bow and arrows out and shot at her. The first shot hit the center of the tail supporting the feathers and split one feather. He had been told by a meadowlark when he came out of the lodge that he should aim for the feathers in her hair. She fell down and was dying. After she was on the ground, he walked up to her before she died.

She spoke to him saying, "Brother, I am all finished now. Take my robe and go home. Take good care of it because it is the same as my body. You can go back to your people where you will have power over them because of this robe."

He went back to his people and did as he was told. His father and mother were living yet, and they were so glad to see him that they cried. He had the medicine robe with him and told them what it was and all about it. Since then the Mandan people have called that robe "Young Grandmother." The boy became a great man and kept that robe until he died. Then another man took it.

The descent of the robe went from father to son or father to daughter and her husband. Each had to pay for the robe when he got it.

2, Bowers B-5 (1930-1931)1950 ND17 Mandan ND17

Appendix III

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AWATIXA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEARS ARM

The people came from Knife River after corn-planting time. They followed the Missouri River and went over toward the Little Missouri, crossed it, and were between the Little and Big Missouries. The camp was of Hidatsa. They were traveling along. It was at the time when the young meadowlarks were old enough to fly. There was a young woman who had a small brother in the party.

The little brother said, "Sister, I wish to have a young bird," so the sister took her little brother away while the main camp traveled westward. They went off to look for a young bird. Somehow the two got separated from the main party and lost their way.

The main party sent out scouts looking for the girl and her brother, but they failed to find them. The camp went on and turned to the southwest and traveled far. The girl and brother went to the Little Missouri River and came to a place suitable to camp. She put up a little lodge like the men use when eagle-trapping. Near by there was a high cliff and just below it was a level place. He became a hunter; she put out snares and caught rabbits. In that way they made a living. Near the lodge was a spring of clear water. They stayed there for some time. Soon the boy grew up and was big enough to use a bow and arrows. Before that time he would use stones to kill young prairie chickens.

He said to his sister, "It is about time for me to have a bow and arrows."

She replied, "Go out and get ten young cherry branches and flints. Take them to this high cliff and lay them down at the foot of the cliff and say, 'Make me arrows.' Lay them down and come home."

The boy got the sticks and flint and took them to the cliff. He spoke as she had instructed him to. He came home, and his sister said, "In four nights you can go back and see about your arrows." He left his arrows there.

Meantime his sister, being mysterious, would go out to find game and bring the meat back.

After four days, the sister said, "You should go over and see about your arrows," so he left for the cliff. When he came to the place where he left the sticks, there were ten arrows with feathers and flint arrowheads. Beside them lay a good bow and string.

The boy said, "You have done me a fine turn by making these arrows for me. I will shoot with these and stop throwing stones." He took the bow and arrows to his camp. He was now able to kill bigger game.

The two lived there for a long time by themselves. One day the boy was home alone while his sister was away as usual, for she had begun to leave each day. She would go far out. She would cause the people to have wars between themselves so she could come home with scalps. She had a robe of her own, and she made one also for her brother. She had one in particular that had scalps fastened to it. Every time she came home, she would spread her robe out on the floor and put a new scalp on the robe. She would use a small clam shell to fasten the scalp to, and some way the scalp and shell would cling to the robe.

One day she went off in the morning. A meadowlark flew by and said, "Your sister is planning to kill you. You must do something to save yourself." Meantime the sister, being able to go all over, found White Lodge Butte called Where the White Lodge Stands. [This butte is between the Little and Big Missouri rivers near the western border of the Fort Berthold Reservation.] In this lodge lived two women who each had a daughter. The sister went to the lodge, saw the two women, and said, "I have a brother who wishes to take your daughters as his wives."

The two women said, "Our girls are young, and they are good girls. We will think about the matter." The sister left the lodge and, being holy, heard everything. She heard the two women discussing the proposal. They said, "No doubt the boy is a good boy, but we know the kind of person his sister is."

The sister went home. When she got back to her camp, she told her brother of the proposal she made for him. One day the sister went away as usual. He, too, was going out on a hunt that day. He picked a louse from his hair and left it in the lodge, saying to it, "You take my place and, if she comes back, don't answer her. See what she does."

He left, and soon she came back. She said, "I know my brother, Feather on Head, that you were out, and I know that you are here." No answer came. She went in and took her robe down. She said, "Right here is where I am going to put you," meaning the brother's scalp. During that time he ran over to where the White Lodge stood. He arrived, and the women came out.

He said, "I have come to you people to see if you could give me some help. My sister is planning to kill me."

The girls went in and told their mothers what Feather on Head had come for. The women said, "Yes, we will help him when the proper time comes."

The girls came back to Feather on Head and told him what their mothers said. He said to the girls, "From this time on watch for me, for I will run away from my sister and come here."

He returned to his lodge and stayed there for some time. Meadowlark came and said to Feather on Head, "You must hurry and get away from here. Go a long ways off and kill a large buffalo bull. When you have it skinned, take the hide and spread it on the ground and cut your meat up in small pieces. Pile the pieces up on top of the hide. Then you must go back and tell your sister that you have the meat cut up and piled ready for her to come after."

He did as the meadowlark directed. He killed the bull, skinned it, spread the hide, piled the meat on the hide, and cut the meat up in small pieces. Then he returned to the lodge and told his sister that he had killed a buffalo bull and had the meat piled on the hide.

She said, "All right, I will go after it, and I will find the meat no matter where it is."

She always had a piece of buffalo hide that she wore over her back so she would not get her dresses bloody. She started out and went over the hill. Feather on Head followed her for a ways, and he saw her going over a ridge. He came back to the camp and picked up what few things belonged to him and ran as fast as he could for the White Lodge. When he was near the lodge,

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he saw his sister coming after him. She was wearing a light feather painted red on her head. She overtook him, and he shot her with an arrow. She lifted her arm to shield her face, and he shot her in the chest. She reached over and pulled the arrow out. When she was nearer, he shot again, and she turned, raising her right arm to shield her face. He shot her in the right side of the chest. At that moment Meadowlark came along and flew over Feather on Head's head. She said, "Shoot the feather on her head." He took an arrow out and shot at the feather on her head. He cut the feather in two. She bled, for the feather on her head was her heart.

Before she fell over and died she staggered around, saying, "This is my mistake. I came to kill you, and now you have killed me."

She was wearing the robe that had so many scalps on it. She said, "Brother, you may take this robe. If you wear it in the battles, you will always come out victorious. The songs that go with the robe you will learn in a dream."

The young man took the robe. She died with her head toward the east and her feet toward the west.

Just then the girls and their mothers came. They helped take the robe off of the dead woman. The young man went back to his camp. When he got back there, he wept. The woman and the girls at White Tepee carried out a buffalo robe from which the hair had been removed. They dug a grave and put the body on the hide. They wrapped it around her and buried her there. They did this because there were so many coyotes and wolves. They knew that if they left the dead body on top of the ground, the wolves would come and eat her flesh.

The young man came back to White Lodge and married the two girls. He stayed there for a long time. He hunted and killed many kinds of game. The time came when he grew homesick. He would get up on the lodge with his head bowed.

His mothers-in-law said, "We know where his home is, and we know that he is lonesome. You girls are his wives, and you will have to go with him if he decides to go home."

The wives inquired whether he was lonesome, and he said, "Yes, I am getting lonesome; I want to see my people, and I feel sad because I killed my own sister. In a way, it is all right that I killed my own sister; if I had not killed her, she would have killed me."

The wives said, "If you want to go back to your people, we will be obliged to go back with you."

He said, "I am glad that you are going with me. You prepare for the journey, and in a few days we will go back to my people."

As soon as his wives were ready, they started back to the village at Knife River. It took them several days to make the trip from White Lodge to the mouth of Knife River. They arrived home, and he was glad to see his people. They were glad to see him back safely.

His wives said, "Now, we want you to leave other women alone; do not have anything to do with them. Do not let any woman touch you. If you touch any woman, we will leave you and go back to our home."

One day he went to the river and bathed. He came toward his lodge. When he reached a narrow place where the lodges were grouped closely, he met one of his sisters-in-law, and she said, "You had it announced that no one would be allowed to touch you. I am going to touch you."

"You must not lay hand on me," he replied and tried to run around her. She seized the corner of his robe and cut it off. She threw it onto the lodge. 773

He went home. As soon as he went in, his wives said, "You have been touched. You know that we told you not to be touched by any other woman. We must leave you." 539

He begged his wives to stay, but they said, "No. We will have to go."

The corn was high by that time, and the sunflowers stood even higher. They walked through the fields to the edge of the gardens. They stopped there. He kept begging his wives to return to the village with him. While he stood there looking at his wives, they changed into two tall, wild sunflowers.

He could do nothing more, so he returned to the village. He told the people what had happened. He said, "Do not pull up wild sunflowers or urinate close to them."

In the meantime he learned all the songs that went with this Sacred Robe. That robe was handed down to the proper ones, and Wolfs Ghost was the last one to keep it. People used to go into his lodge to worship this sacred robe and offer sacrifices to it. When Wolfs Ghost died, a few years ago, that robe was still in his lodge, and nobody knows what became of it.

Feather on Head had the robe, and he would wear it whenever the enemy came to attack the village. It was very hard for the enemy to do anything to him, for the robe protected him. He married again and raised a family. He went up to White Lodge, but there was no entrance. He became famous as a great warrior and died of old age. When the smallpox of 1837 came, Bobtail Bull was the owner. He came from the Mi-tu-tan-ka Village of the Mandan.

Appendix IV

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON EAGLE-TRAPPING

223 538 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would acquaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trapping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given below.

MYTH OF BROWN OLD MAN RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[1]

773 539 There are two ways of telling this story; one is that he came from the heavens and the other that he came from the earth through being born of a woman. I heard many stories, when nineteen years of age from Small Ankles, my father, and Chief,[2] my father-in-law, in the winter village at Blue Buttes above here. Even the older people would have them come out and tell the story to them and put on a feast to them.

Brown Old Man came to the village and always knew himself that he was not a real human, but he would stay with them. When they needed meat, he would call the buffaloes. If they needed rain, he would call it. The people did not know, and he never told them, who he was. After he had been with the people a while, he thought that he would marry. In the spring the buffalo hides get brown, and he had one of those brown hides for a robe until they ~~came to~~ call him Brown Old Man. Sometimes the people would invite him in and feed him well. Then he would say that this man will strike an enemy; sometimes he would say two or more, and it would always come true. Still the people of the village did not know who he was at heart. At last the people began to realize that he was trying to be a holy man, and they would say, "If he were a real medicine man, he would have a good living with more to show for his powers." He felt bad when he heard it but would say, "I am a man who saves the people here." At last he was getting old and white, and his wife was old and white too.

There was one man in the village who invited in Brown Old Man often, and, when he went out to fast, he dreamed of Brown Old Man. He saw in his dream this Brown Old Man painted all over so that he looked more like a bird. When the young man was with the war parties, he would be the first to strike, and he thought that this was being caused by Brown Old Man. Brown Old Man's lodge was small, and he had only a few articles in it, but he was a medicine man, nevertheless. One day this young man called Brown Old Man and gave him and his wife some pieces of meat.

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[1] For another relation of this myth by Wolf Chief see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 187–94. There is also a very brief version in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 204–5.

[2] Chief was a Mandan of the Prairie Chicken clan.

Brown Old Man said, "My son, I am the one who gave you the dream and spirit; you are my "son." I am the man who gave you the power to strike the enemy and made you chief."

The young man began to tell his dream, saying, "In my dream I saw you painted all over, and you looked like a bird and had bird claws, but I never told you or anyone else."

The old man said, "That is right; I am not really human. When I gave you that dream, you were not supposed to tell it to your own people. You dreamed that you saw me painted all over. I had a father who was a red bird. That is why you saw me painted with red paint."

The young man was happy and took off his leggings, moccasins, and robe, which he gave to the old man. Brown Old Man said to the young man, "You have already seen me in your dream, and I think you will be successful."

Even when the young man went out eagle-trapping he would succeed in bringing back many eagle tails. The old man would smoke some days, and then he would take on new life again. In the fall the people in that village would go out eagle-trapping in all directions; some went to the Little Missouri River; others went along the Missouri and Yellowstone, so that the people were scattered out in camps all over the roughland. The old man said to his wife, "I am going out to the west and see all my different sons."[3]

At this time not even the old woman knew that he was a bird, and she said, "I do not think you can find your way. You are too old." His "son" who had dreamed of Brown Old Man had already left and was at the mouth of Yellowstone River in a camp called One Cottonwood Camp.

He replied, "I am going to One Cottonwood Camp."

She said, "You can't find that place; you are just childish and think you are young again."

He said, "I know all the earth; of course you do not know me; that is why you say that. When I am ready to go, you will go with me a little ways until we come to a hill. Then you can come back. I am not really human; I am different altogether from humans. That is why we did not have any children."

They walked out of the village to a hill, and he said, "Cover up your head and you will see a god."

She covered herself and did not see him, but she heard a noise like a big bird. Then she was sure that he was something else besides a human. Before she took the robe off, her husband was flying through the air just above her, singing a holy song. When he told her to take the robe off, she looked up and saw her husband had turned into a spotted eagle.[4] When she saw the big bird, she cried and lay on the ground while the bird flew around. He said, "You can go home; I will come back some day."

He flew up the Missouri River and came to the hills, south of the present Fishhook site, called High Butte Trapping Place. There were some people in the hills trapping eagles. Before he reached the village he changed into Brown

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[3] Sons of clan brothers.

[4] The Hoita of the Mandan Okipa ceremony represented the spotted eagle.

Old Man again. He carried a cane and made them believe that he was an old man. He walked toward one of the little lodges, and they said, "There is Brown Old Man; we should take him in and feed him."

Others said, "We don't want to bother with him."

Some treated him well, while others let him go without food. He went into one lodge and was fed; then the young man said that he would give him water and asked the old man to open his mouth so that he could put the water into it. When it was dark, the old man was still sitting near the door. Some thought that, being old, he might have some stories to tell, but others thought that, since he did not have much wealth at the old village, he would not know very much. Some were good to him and said, "Brown Old Man, we would like to hear a story." But others did not care to hear it.

Brown Old Man said, "I may not be able to tell a good story, but I will tell a story. One of you go out and bring a block of wood and set it before that buffalo skull for me to sit on."

One of them found a block of wood and left it before the skull. Brown Old Man folded his brown robe, put it on the wood, and sat on it.

He said: "A long time ago there was a red bird, and he had a son. The son thought that he would go among the people and turn himself into a human and be born among the people to lead them. (When he mentioned these words, some said that he was crazy, and they wanted to drag him outside, while others wanted to hear it all, thinking it was a good story.) There was a man there who thought that he would take some of the young people as 'sons,' and then they would strike the enemy, bring buffalo or rain; and everything happened as he had predicted. Sometimes in the fall the people would go out eagle-trapping, and he thought, since he knew all the places, he would tell them where to go to have good luck, and it was always so. Even then the people would not believe it. (Some wanted to throw him out; others wanted to give him a feast.) This bird they would call Brown Old Man. When he was old, he would smoke himself and get new life. He was always leading his people even though they did not realize it. In the fall they were all out eagle-trapping. Brown Old Man was getting very old at that time; his wife was old too. The old man told his wife that he was going out to see all his sons, but she did not believe that he knew the way and thought that he would get lost. Brown Old Man told his wife that he knew all the places and would not get lost. He asked his wife to go out a short distance, and they went out a short distance together. He told her to cover up herself, for he was not a true human; she heard a noise like a bird. He flew up into the air and sang a holy song and told her to uncover herself. She saw a large spotted eagle flying above her. She cried and rolled herself on the ground all the time the large bird was flying around in the air. He told the old woman to go back and that he would return to her some day. The bird flew up the river to the place where the people were trapping eagles, and there he alighted and turned into an old man with a cane. He walked into the camp. Some of them treated him well; others did not. Some fed him, and others wanted to throw him out. When the old man finished eating, the good young man took his mountain-sheep horn spoon and gave him water. The old man thought, 'I know that the rest of the men here do not like me. Those who treat me well will get birds, for I am a big bird; but those who treat me badly will get none. Those who treat me well will get six or seven eagles.' "

By that time all the men were looking at Brown Old Man. He said, "To

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the one who treated me best and gave me water, I will give the power to catch twelve eagles. I am that Brown Old Man." Then he changed himself into a spotted eagle and flew out, saying, "You people see that I am holy," and was gone.

The next night he reached a place called Buckbrush Trapping Camp (the hills around Slide Coulee). When they saw the old man, they said that they were crowded and that he might pass his water inside the lodges. He sat outside until it was getting dark, and some said that they should take him in or he might freeze. They called him in and fed him and wanted him to tell a story.

He said, "I came, and the people would not take me in; they will not get any birds, for I am a bird."

He flew away. When he left, all the people there worried about him. They did not get any eagles at all that year, and not even deer or buffaloes. At last they were starving and went back to the village.

He came to a camp called "First Trapping Place" (below Sanish). When he stopped there, he saw many people. They had much dried meat hanging in the trees and were having a good time. As soon as it was evening, he changed himself into an old man with a cane. He walked toward the village.

The people there said, "I wonder how he got here; he is such an old man."

They said to the younger people, "You should take care of him, for the young should always treat the old kindly."

Even his moccasins were worn out, and they gave him new ones, showing him every kindness. They wanted him to tell them a story, and he called for a block of wood which they brought and put beside the buffalo skull. When he told the story, he told how he came to the first trapping place. Some treated him well. He promised twelve eagles, to the man who gave him the water, but those who were not kind to him would get none. At the second place they did not like him because he was old, and they were afraid that he would wet in the lodge. They would not get any birds or food but would starve because they did not know that he was a bird. He changed into a bird and flew out the smokehole. He came to the third place, and they treated him well, and, when he was near, the young men ran to tell the camp that the Brown Old Man was coming. They fed him, gave him moccasins, and treated him well. All those would get twelve or more birds each and have plenty to eat.

He thought, "They have treated me well, and I will sing my medicine song to show them that I am holy." As he was changing into a bird, he said, "You see me as a bird. I am your father," and he sang as he flew off:

Hiu ho ho ho Hiu ho ho ho

They were lucky in getting eagles and found plenty of game near the camp.

He went on and came to the mouth of the Yellowstone River. It was here that the young man who had a dream from Brown Old Man was living with his younger, unmarried brother. When he came to the village, there were no men there, but the son's wife was there; also another man's wife was there. The latter treated the old man well and gave him food and water, but the former did not treat him well even though she was the wife of the old man's "son." The good woman took him in and talked to him.

In the evening the men came back, and Brown Old Man's son said to his wife, "What did you do to my father? Did you feed him?"

She said, "I didn't do anything to him, and I did not feed him."

The other man asked, "What did you do to the old man?"

His wife said, "I brought him in and gave him meat seasoned with peppermint and fresh water. I noticed that his moccasins were worn through, and I gave him new ones."

The other man was angry because his wife had not treated him well. When he went out trapping, he was unlucky, but the other man whose wife had treated Brown Old Man well got many birds. The Brown Old Man wanted to give his "son" eagles but thought he would not, since the woman had not treated him right. The lucky man got many eagles, and at last he found a white buffalo near the village and killed it. After they had been there some time, the weather began to get cold, so Brown Old Man decided he would leave soon. He wanted to tell a story before he left, so one night he told the men that he was going to tell a story.

He said: "There was a spotted eagle who came to the people changed into a human. They called him Brown Old Man. He gave a dream to a young man and took him as his son. This old man would say that certain things would happen, and they did. Brown Old Man thought that he would go out to see the people at their traps and that he would call on his son. He took his wife out on a hill and she saw him in the air. He came to different camps along the river. At some of the places he was treated well; at others he was not. He thought that those who had treated him well would get many eagles, but those who did not would not have good luck. He came to the second place and was very badly treated. They would not take him in for fear he would dirty the lodge. The old man knew everything they said. He thought that, since these people treated him so badly, he would not give them any birds. He came to the third camp, and most of the people treated him well, and he was glad. They would catch many eagles and have plenty of food. When he left that place, he thought again of his son, a young man whom he loved very much, and decided to go to that camp and see his son. When he came to the fourth place at One Cottonwood Camp, he changed himself back into a human. When he was near, he found two women outside. His "granddaughter," he could tell at once, did not like him; the other one liked him and called him in to feed him. He thought that even though this woman's husband was not his son, he would bring him good luck. Since the other one's wife did not like him, he would not get any birds. Instead he would get dirty and covered with grass in the pit. He thought that this man who was not his son would catch five eagles and also kill a white buffalo. That Brown Old Man is myself."

He went back to Knife River again.

The man whose wife treated him well caught twelve eagles and killed a white buffalo. The "son" and his wife quarreled after that and could not get along together. Before leaving the place, he killed a white buffalo also. The other man was lucky though and killed much game. He had a white buffalo hide, and he and his wife were happy. He said, "We should go home, for it will soon be cold weather."

They broke camp and came back along the Missouri River. They reached the hilly country below the Yellowstone River. All that time the son was angry, and, as they walked along, he said, "We should stop here, my wife, and let the others go ahead." The man's brother liked the wife and wanted to stay back with them, but his brother sent him ahead. He set up two sticks in the ground, and then he tied his wife to the sticks and built a fire under her. He let her burn to death. The others were ahead waiting for them to catch up.

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After a while he came alone, and they asked him where his wife was, and he said, "She will come up."

Then the boy said, "I think I will go back and see my sister-in-law."

The husband said, "You can go back if you want to." When the boy came back to the place where they had stopped, he saw something but at first could not tell what it was. He walked toward the place and saw an owl, a wolf, and a black bear there. When he saw the three animals, he began to cry. His sister-in-law was there and said, "Do not cry. I always loved you. This wolf, owl, and little bear brought me to life again." When he looked at her, he saw that her eyes looked bright while her hair was light-colored and long.

She said, "Do not cry; I am your medicine now. I am holy, and you will be holy too. Your brother fastened me to stakes and burned me, but this black bear came and cleaned out the bad spirits. The owl fixed my eyes and hair, and now I am holy. The wolf fixed up my body."

Black Bear said to the woman, "I know that you have suffered; Brown Old Man was responsible for that. We know Brown Old Man's father, the Red Bird, and I think I will get rid of him."

She said to the boy, "You are old enough; we could go back to the lodge and trap eagles." They went back to the lodge. Beside the door was a snare singing a holy song:[5]

> Young woman, she is crying, but she will be holy.
> Young man was crying, but he will become holy.

(This song is used just before going into the holes and means that everything will be caught.)

Then the snare said that everything would be caught or held tight. (They used this song when putting up the snare in the trapping lodge. I fasted while eagle-trapping and heard a song, but it had different words:

> The young man was crying, and for that he became different.

That time I held an elkhorn on one side of my chest and a mountain-sheep head on the left. They had cut a hole through the skin of my shoulders, and I had a buck head fastened there to thongs through my flesh. I was running around the lodge when I heard the song.)

They moved into the lodge and cleaned out the pits to trap in. After a while they each caught a bird. They did not have much meat in the camp, and after a while the woman said to the boy, "You should go out to hunt," but the boy thought he was still too young.

She said, "I think you can. If you find a buffalo, you will be able to kill it. While you are gone, I will go into the pit." She brought in two eagles,[6] and he killed two buffaloes. After that they had plenty to eat and got along well.

The woman said, "You remember the time we were here; your brother was angry at me for not taking in Brown Old Man. He nearly killed me, but Little Black Bear said that he was going to catch Brown Old Man's father. I think if we got thirty eagles, it would be enough to satisfy your brother for the trouble I made him by failing to feed Brown Old Man. You go out and you will see some buffaloes. There will be a white one; you get the hide to give to your brother."

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[5] "Song of the Snare."

[6] Mandan and Hidatsa women were not permitted to trap eagles.

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The boy came back with the white buffalo, and, it being just at the beginning of cold weather, it was of good quality. He said, "You should tan it and keep it for yourself." Just then he noticed that she had caught some eagles and had carried them to the camp.

She smiled and said, "You treat me very well. In my dream I saw the snare that hangs on the wall, and it was singing a song. It was the same thing I dreamed of. I also dreamed of the small black bear and the Bear said, 'When I use this snare to trap with I never miss, no matter what animal I go after.' You know when we came into the lodge at first we heard that snare singing. It sang two songs for us, and I want you to own those songs because I was killed by your brother. You came to see me and were crying. All those things you did for me I have not forgotten; now you have given me this white buffalo hide, so you can own those two songs, and, any time when you are having bad luck, you can use those songs. When you want anything, sing these songs, and your wish will come true. Keep them for the future, for it will be better for you to have them, since you are a young man. It is a rule that we are to stop trapping now, for the river is beginning to freeze up along the edges. Even the Black Bears quit at that time. The eagles might take some human lives or take away our spirits. As soon as I finish this tanning, we should go home."

They put all the feathers, thirty sets in all, together. She packed up the meat, and then they went back toward Knife River. They stopped several times on the way before they reached home.

Before going into the village, she said to the boy, "I know that your brother was angry, but it was my mistake; he was angry about not getting enough eagles and the white robe, so we will go back to your brother's lodge. You give him the thirty tails and robe and say, 'I want you to take back my sister-in-law again.' "

The woman looked changed now with different eyes and hair that was combed down. When they went into the lodge, they found that her husband was making arrows. He did not recognize the woman with his brother and wondered who she was. Even the younger brother looked different, for he had been among the gods.

The younger brother said, "I know that you are angry about those eagle tails and white robe, but you can have these, and I want you to live with her again." He put the robe over his brother's shoulders. Then his brother began to cry.

The older brother said, "What you said, is all true. The Brown Old Man was my god and loved me and that is where the trouble began, for your sister-in-law did not treat him right. I burned her, but now I can see that she has turned into a holy person, so she can stay here and be my holy spirit and look after me. She can look after the village too."

The woman said to the boy, "I have taught you the two holy songs that were sung by the snare, and you know them already. You keep them and then you will be chief and look after the village. I am not going to stay here forever. Once I nearly died, and those three gods brought me back to life. Some day I am going back to the owls."

This woman lived with her husband again, but he was always afraid of her, since her actions were different and she did not talk very much. They did not get along like they had formerly. Before they were aware of it, the woman disappeared.

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In the same village there was a man who was always changing himself into a black bear. He was good at trapping eagles, for he was the head of the trappers. He grew to be a very old man. He planned to go out trapping and selected six men. They came to the high buttes just below Fort Stevenson. He had experience in trapping, but the other six did not know anything about it. He went out with them fixing the pits, and then he sent them out after bait. He would sing a holy song for them.

He said, "I have my trap prepared; my trap is between those trees. You young men ought to make offerings. If you have any colored birds at home promise them to the eagles. If you have any meadowlarks with bright yellow breasts, offer them to the eagles if you catch any eagles."

He asked each of the young men where his pit was. There was one boy who was poor and had no parents. When he came to the poor boy, that one answered, "I have mine close to a spring, for I thought the eagles might get thirsty and come there to drink. I might get them there."

The old man said, "You did right. You should ask your grandmother. She might have something that you could give to the eagles as offerings."

Then he would talk to each young man, telling him to make an offering. The last time they were making an offering, the poor one peeped into the lodge and said, "Now small Black Bear, I want to make an offering to you that some day you will make my grandmother[7] your mother-in-law," and the Black Bear said, "That is a good thing."

Black Bear said to the young men, "After it has snowed, I want all of you to hunt a deer. If you have a chance to shoot it, do not follow it, or you might drop dead."

After a while it began to snow. When it had cleared, they went out, shot a buck, and saw it run into the trees. It fell down between the trees. When they saw the animal fall down, they said, "We must not follow it, for we are not supposed to go up to it."

They came back, and the old man said, "I do not think that deer fell close to my trap so it will be hard to catch that red bird. If I drag the deer to the bait, the bird will know it. I think the only way I can catch that red bird is to dig a hole under the ground to the deer." He dug into the ground and went up to the deer and tied himself tightly under the deer. He noticed that Red Bird was coming his way.

Old Black Bear stayed there, and other birds flew around above. They said, "This looks like a trap, so we better stay here until Red Bird comes." They sat in the trees and waited for Red Bird to come. After a while Red Bird came, and the others said, "This deer looks fat, and we wanted you to get your share. We have waited for you to get yours first."

Then Red Bird said to the other birds, "I am afraid, for I know that that Old Black Bear is the real trapper and never misses anything; he has great power for tying things up. Look around and see if there are any tracks."

"We have looked around carefully, and there are no tracks. That deer must have run a long ways before falling."

Red Bird said, "If you could catch hold of that deer and move it to the side, I would take my share. I will pick one of you to move it to one side. I will select the baldheaded eagle to move it to the side, for you are strong."

The baldheaded eagle went to the deer and tried to lift it but could not

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[7] Black Bear would be taking the poor boy as his son.

773 move it, only pulling out the hair. He said, "I can't lift it; I do not think there is anything under the deer."

539 Then Red Bird slowly flew down toward the deer, circling, and then went down to the deer. Old Black Bear seized him and said to the bird, "You are not the one who is holy; I am the holy man and have much more power than you have. I am going to get rid of you."

The bird cried, "Save my life; if you get rid of me, there will be no birds."

The Bear said, "You have made the people suffer, so I am going to kill you and get rid of you."

He pulled all the feathers out of the bird, saying, "I do not want to see any red birds like you, and I do not want you to treat people again as you did in the past. If you treat the people like you have in the past, I am going to get rid of you by cutting your head off." He turned the red bird loose, but after that they did not see any red birds like this one again.

About this time Brown Old Man in the village knew what was happening to his father, Red Bird, and he was sad. After they caught his father and pulled all the feathers out, Brown Old Man did not have his former strength. Still he had one holy song.

At the village they were playing the pole-and-stone game, and one fellow would win the game all the time. His medicine was the Snake. He was playing the game with another who had a father who was a chief. The boy always bet the things that belonged to his father. He would put in the lodge or all the things in the lodge. He even bet his parents' bedding. After a while they were sleeping in hay for bedding and did not have much left.

At this time the man said to his son, "You ought to see that we do not have much left and that we are very uncomfortable. What you should do now is call in Brown Old Man and give him a little roasted corn and moccasins. Tell him that you will give him your wife for a daughter-in-law. Do this after sundown."

The young man secured roast corn, fat, and moccasins. He went to Brown Old Man's lodge and invited him over. He said to Brown Old Man. "I was playing a game with the young man who has the Snake Medicine and he has beaten me. We do not have very much left. I know that you are a holy man, and I want you to help me. I will give you these things and, if I ever marry, I will have my wife for your daughter-in-law."

The old man said, "It is pretty hard to win a game from him. That stick he plays with is a snake too. That is why he wins the game all the time. You will never win the game so long as he has that snake for a stick. You can't tell the difference, but it is a snake just the same even though you cannot recognize it. I heard some stories about that snake; I am a bird and snakes are my food; that is the reason why that fellow is against me all the time. If you do not win the game, I will not take your wife as my daughter-in-law. If you win, I will call her that. You go out and see what you can find over there where Snake Man is; you will see much earth and various things scattered around. That is not real earth but eagle tails and other things he has won. You take some of them."

The young man went and came back. He brought back a robe full of articles, and he put them in the lodge on the ground but there was nothing visible except the dirt floor.

Brown Old Man sent him out a third time, a little after midnight saying, "Do not let him see you. There will be two sticks standing there. Go slowly and get those sticks for me. The first thing in the morning call to him, 'Let us play the game again.' When he comes, tell him that you want to use a bigger stick. If he says it is all right and then takes the smaller stick, it will mean that he is going to lose his mind. This earth you piled here, I will change like before into many valuable things that he has won from your father."

Brown Old Man stood up and took hold of the largest stick and said, "I am going to sing a holy song." He bent the stick, rubbing it, and started it moving like a snake. When he had finished singing, it had changed into a real stick with no sign of a snake. He threw the stick onto the ground. He threw it from one place to another like a bird throws a snake and said, "There is no snake left to it." He took the smaller stick and bent it, and it seemed like a snake too. Then he sang his holy song and threw it onto the ground several times, and it was a stick again.

He said, "When you are ready to play the game, put one of these bird's claws on each end of the stick. If there are any snakes, these claws will catch them. When you want to start the game, take the largest stick and say that you are going to say your prayer, and he will say that you are not a real medicine man. Say that you always pray before the game and then take some dirt and rub it on the stick. Be sure that you have a hoop of your own. After a while he will let you use it and that, too, is a sign that he will lose his mind. Play this game with him for four days, and by that time he will be about exhausted, with water coming out of his mouth."

Brown Old Man went to the earth pile and sang his holy song, saying, "Pick what you want for your bidding from this pile," and the earth changed to eagle tails.

When he changed the earth there were four eagle tails. "The Snake Man will say, 'Where did you get those eagle tails?' and you say, 'I have been around begging from my friends.' Then he will not be afraid and put his four tails on, too. When you play the game, go as fast as you can. While you are running remember the holy song I taught you and sing it in your mind. Have some young men run with you when you play the game. On the last day I may be there, for I know that that snake hates me."

After he finished talking, he smoked the two sticks and told the young man to take them back and put them where they belonged, for Snake Man, who was sleeping, would not hear him. Brown Old Man said, "The first thing in the morning, go to the river and take a bath. Put mud on your head. I will be praying to the birds all the time, and you will not get exhausted but light while you run. Call the first thing in the morning that you are ready to play, and he will ask why you don't use white clay instead of that dirt, and you say, 'I am in such a hurry that I am going to use this kind of paint.' "

Snake Man came and asked where he got the tails, and he replied that they were given him by different people who scolded him because he was using up all his father's things. He sent for his eagle tails to bet against the young man. The young man said to Snake Man, "I want a bigger stick this time, for you are always using your small ones. I don't know how to win the game anyhow and you will win."

The other one agreed to use the larger stick. Brown Old Man had said that he would go easy with Snake Man at first. There were many young fellows around, and he begged some of them to follow him while he ran even though he couldn't win the game. They ran, letting the loop go first. Snake Man threw his stick first and then the other threw. The stick went where it should go, so

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he won the first game and had two sticks. They threw the sticks out again. Before the stick stopped, he saw that he was nearer and then he had four of the sticks. After a while the young man won the eagle tails, so he had eight tails. He thought he would fool the opponent by saying, "Now that I have the eight tails I will be able to play all the longer before you win them back from me as you will eventually."

Snake Man sent for eight more eagle tails, and they began to run again. Each time they threw, the young man would hit the right place; then he began to lag so the other would not be suspicious, until late in the evening when he won the game outright. Then he had sixteen eagle tails.

Snake Man said, "I am tired now so we will stop." The other said, "When I was losing, you always wanted to go until sundown," but Snake Man thought that he would stop so he could fix his sticks.

The young man said to his helpers, "I will pay you after I have finished the game."

Next day they had another game and Snake Man brought out all the eagle tails left and said, "If you win all the tails, I suppose I can put in robes and other things?" The young man agreed to do so. The third day he won the game again and had robes and everything that Snake Man had.

The third night, Brown Old Man came and said, "Tomorrow will be your last day for the game. After he has lost everything, he will bet his wife, for she is his real power, so you must do your best to win her."

The boy's father was at the lodge when they brought in all the things that the father had lost before. On the last day Snake Man did not have very much property to bet, bringing only pots, bedding, spoons, and such things as he could get hold of. The young man put up eagle tails against them. The game went on, and Snake Man said, "Now I have nothing left. I will bet my earth lodge." When he lost that, Snake Man said, "I will bet my wife now. That is all that I have left."

Brown Old Man had said formerly, "During the last game when he bets his wife, I will be sitting ahead of you, for if you do not win right away, she may throw you off in your throw. She has great power."

When the other people saw that he was winning the game back, they would run beside him and make much noise in victory. By that time Snake Man was nearly exhausted with water running from his mouth. When the last game was played, they began to run with Brown Old Man in the lead. When Snake Man threw his stick, he saw the old man and thought that he would throw the stick past Brown Old Man. After the game was over Snake Man said, "Brown Old Man, I think you were the one who did this, making me throw my stick in the wrong direction."

The young man said to the people, "You may carry all the things over to the lodge I have won and put them inside. I know that Snake Man once won all these valuables from you, and I am going to return them to you again."

He called Snake Man's wife in and said, "You belong to me, but I do not think I will keep you. I will give you some clothing to put on and you can go anywhere you please."

She dressed and went out. When he had everything collected that he had won from Snake Man, he called in his "father," Brown Old Man. Snake Man came in with nothing on but a breechcloth. The young man inquired what he had come for, to smoke or what? Snake Man said, "I went down to the river to take a bath, and I vomited out only earth."

The other said, "I had that happen, too, when you were winning, so I don't think it is anything serious. If you find anything more to bet on, I am ready. I always give a person a chance to get back what he lost." 773 539

After a while Snake Man stepped out. Late that night Brown Old Man came and ate with the young man, and they were happy. He told Brown Old Man what Snake Man had said and then Brown Old Man laughed.

He said, "I made one mistake here; at the time you fellows ran I was angry, and I thought that every time Snake Man breathed the dirt would go into his mouth. That is why he threw all that dirt up. That was a mistake, for I am afraid that he will not have a long life."

While the gambling was going on, the young man had married. He told his wife to go out and take a bath, for he had promised Brown Old Man that if he won the game and had a wife he should take her as a daughter-in-law. Brown Old Man had said, "I will sleep beside her and take her as my daughter-in-law, but I will not touch her. What you have done, giving her to me for my daughter-in-law, makes me happy." They slept together until the next day. The young man and his "father," Brown Old Man, ate together and were happy. Brown Old Man said to his "son," "I sang a holy song while you were playing the game, and it is yours. In the future when you go out to attack your enemy, use that song, and you will win that game too."

Meanwhile Snake Man was vomiting up the dirt; it was not long after that until he died.

Brown Old Man died in that village, but, when they tell the story, the old people do not say whether he went back to the birds or not, but it seems from the earlier part of the story that he must have.

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. I

The people were living out on the Reservation by this time [1888]. I was about twenty-four years old then. By that time we had wagons so we went with teams. We went across from Independence and set out west toward Heart Singer Butte, near which we camped that night. The next time we moved, we camped at Eagle Nest Butte. Bad Coat had his wife, True Woman (Water-buster clan); Iron Eyes had his wife, Brown Chest (AwaxEnawita clan); Charging had his wife, Robe (Knife clan); Little Crow had his wife, Otter (Water-buster clan); Packs Wolf had his wife, Comes Along Pink (AwaxEnawita clan); Spotted Weasel had his wife, Cedar (AwaxEnawita clan); Raven Knows Nothing had his wife, Bear Woman (Knife clan); Sitting Owl had his wife, Pink Blossom (AwaxEnawita clan); Sitting Owl had an adopted son along called Standing Bull. 223

The next time we camped just the other side of where the White Lodge stands, where there are large springs. The next day we came opposite Buffalo Manure Butte, called Lone Butte today, and camped on the banks of the Little Missouri River. We crossed the Little Missouri there and followed Buffalo Manure Creek, called Crosby Creek today, and crossed the divide to the west and camped. The camp was on the Little Missouri River in the timber.

We set to work, for we had wagons then, cutting the timbers and posts. They were mostly ash, and we hauled them on the wagons. We set up the four posts with the rails at the top and then carried the timbers around the sides of the place where the lodge was to stand. All the men worked on this, and we finally finished it. It took us one day to cut the timbers while others were scraping the ground down, taking the roots out. The next day we commenced 223 346

778 which Lewis and Clarke, Henry, Catlin, and Maximilian all give accounts. The Mandans told Lewis and Clarke that this rock,
181 which was at three days march to the southwest, informed them of every thing to happen during the year and that they visited it every spring and sometimes in the summers.[1] The description which Maximilian gives of this rock seems worth repetition: "It is situated at two or three days from the village on the edge of the Cannonball River from which it is about one hundred paces. They say it is on the summit of a rather high hill, the top of which is level. It is marked by the footprints of men and other animals, dogs and travois. It is a sort of oracle. They offer it all sorts of valuable articles — knives, pipes, cloth. . . . When going to war they pass near and consult the stone. They approach it, weep, groan, smoke, and retire to a distance where they pass the night. Next day they take down on parchment what the stone shows. This painted parchment is carried to the village where the old men interpret it. Undoubtedly new figures are seen on the stone from time to time. Not far from this place was the ark where part of the nation was saved." The Minnetarees also had one of these medicine stones which was consulted in practically the same way. One more of their natural sacred objects deserves
778 mention; this was a lake some distance from their villages
182 where a great serpent, formerly a Mandan warrior, was said to reside. This serpent was a good genius and offerings of all sorts were thrown into the lake to procure his aid.

791 The shaman although mentioned occasionally is not described, nor are his powers well defined by any of the authorities. Maximilian remarked that there were shamans who gathered herbs and pretended to cure diseases and others who did tricks and conducted preparations for the ceremonies.

773 MYTHOLOGY:—Practically all material on Mandan mythology comes from Maximilian who wrote down a large number of
539 stories directly as they were told to him by a Mandan chief, Dipeuch. Catlin and Lewis and Clarke reinforce these with a few details. It is found by analysis of the myths given by Maximilian that two distinct, parallel, mythological stories of

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[1] Lewis and Clarke: Feb. 21, 1805.

the origin of the people existed, both were told by the same man, each of these accounts being made up of a number of separate myths. Perhaps a short synopsis of these two cycles will best show the condition of the mythology and the relationship with that of other nations. According to one of these, the Lord of Life created the First Man, who in turn created the earth. It was made of mud brought up from the bottom of the sea by a duck. The First Man walked about on it, meeting some animals and then finally the Lord of Life; a dispute arose between the two as to which should be called father, and they sat down, agreeing that the first one to rise should be the son. Many years they sat and when the Lord of Life was only a pile of whitened bones, the First Man arose. At once the Lord of Life jumped up and was acknowledged as father. The two of them went about together, the Lord of Life said the earth must be remade and called the buffalo, who was commanded to fetch grass and wood. Then the two gods each took half the land to shape—they were at the mouth of the Heart River and the Lord of Life took the south side of the Missouri, the First Man took the north. The Lord of Life made hills and coulées, but First Man made his section flat and wooded so people could not live there. Then each made himself a wooden pipe, the Lord of Life making his of ash wood inlaid with stone, the First Man making his of soft wood. They placed the two together and the Lord of Life said, "This will be the center, the heart of the world." They walked along and met a buffalo from whom they got tobacco. Then they made men, but limited their life to one hundred years lest the world be over-populated, and these men were taught by the Lord of Life to use buffalo. After this the Lord of Life and the First Man killed all the old wolves and taught the young ones not to eat men, the skins of the old ones floating down the river, turned into white men. A little later the First Man saw a girl ineffectually attempting to bring ashore a dead buffalo cow, he supernaturally guided it to her and she ate some of the flesh and in consequence became pregnant. A boy was born to her who became the first chief. This chief made a canoe which understood him when he spoke to it. In it he sent some men down to a white nation

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to get shells and beads. The men were killed, so finally he went himself and came back safely. Then the First Man went down with another party and all were killed but he. He saved himself by strategy. The white men became angry because they could not kill him and they made the waters rise so that the whole earth was submerged. Related to this is a statement by a Mandan to Catlin that the earth was a huge turtle, the white men stuck a knife through its shell and it sank so the water flooded its back. The First Man made them build a tower on a height on the lower bank of the Heart River and the whole nation was saved there. Soon after the flood, the First Man went away to the west and said he would come back when they needed him. One day they wanted him and could not discover how to reach him, till at last a man said that thought would do it. He sat down and thought and cried, "I think, I have thought, I return," and rose bathed in sweat, and the First Man came, and helped them. Just after this the Lord of Life turned into a goose and being hurt fell into a Mandan village where he escaped plucking by cursing the women. Thence he flew to the Hidatsa village, where he clawed and beat a woman who said she would have no one but the Lord of Life for her husband. The next day, however, he returned to the sun and caused her to ascend to him by means of a rope which he let down, the story continuing the Siouan myth of the boy and the mother coming down a sinew cord to the earth again.

The second cycle of stories does not begin with a creation myth, but merely with a brief account of the earliest existence. The Mandans said that there were four stories under the earth and four stories above; before the flood they lived in a village under the earth near a lake, and a grape-vine grew down through, letting the light into the underworld. They wanted to come up and sent the mouse, badger, a strange, mythical animal and a deer to dig out a hole. Then they climbed out by the grapevine till half were on earth and a very corpulent woman broke the vine. A flood came when they were first coming out and the first tribe (Tattooed Faces) perished almost wholly. All this happened near a lake to the east. If they are good the Mandans go back to this old village under ground when they die.

They now found themselves on the surface of the earth. The people were led by a chief and they kept walking till they reached the Missouri at the mouth of the White River. They ascended it to the Moreau, here they found enemies in the Cheyenne, and they went to war and killed and scalped for the first time. The great chief who led them out of the earth together with his sister and brother taught them to make shields, and then he divided them into bands and led them against the Cheyenne. After a long struggle he performed a miracle by which the enemy were nearly all slain. Then the Mandans moved up to the Heart River. Here one day, four Hidatsa came to them for a time and on leaving promised to return in four days. Four years later they returned with a numerous band. The Hidatsa crossed the river and built villages, and the Mandans taught them to raise corn. Then after a few years they moved up to the Knife River where they settled. This was during the period at which the Mandans lived in a village on the Heart River.

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Besides these two myth cycles there are also a number of tales as yet unconnected with either group. First among these should be considered the tales about the Old Woman Who Never Dies. The Old Woman Who Never Dies owns a very large plantation in the south where her two deer and many blackbirds guard her crops, and the mouse and mole help work the soil. The water birds she sends north as her representatives in the spring, and at the same time goes north to visit the Old Man Who Never Dies, but she stays with him only a short time. She is the goddess of corn, and the ceremonies in her honor are to bring good crops. Formerly she lived on the Little Missouri where the Indians visited her. She gave the Hidatsa once a little corn in a dish and it fed twelve men. Finally she went south to live.

The story of the great serpent forms an important tale for comparative purposes. The great serpent was supposed to have been one of two Mandan braves who crawled through a hole in the bluff and came out in a land of giants. On returning, the two killed a monstrous snake of which one of them ate. He himself soon turned into a great snake and became a sort of minor deity for the people.

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Once the Mandan lived underground. A small mouse went about and discovered a little hole in the ground, through which he crawled up and thus came to see the surface of the earth. He liked the light and the grass. He returned, and told his people about it. They said to Fox, "You are small enough to get up through the hole." So Fox went up. He got to the ground, looked about, and found everything good there. He liked it, and told the three chiefs[1] and their sister. The hole was still too small, so the Elk was called. "You have wide horns, make a little passage for us to get through." The Elk did as he was bidden, got above ground, and enjoyed the sight. He returned, and told them how good the country above was. Then the youngest of the three brothers went up through the opening, and found plenty of buffalo and elk. He hunted them, killed a buffalo and took the sinew and paunch, which he gave to his brothers on his return. They were very glad to get sinew, for underground they had been obliged to use sunflower threads for cordage. All the people wished to go above ground. They went to the hole, and found a vine passing from their country to the earth. The chiefs climbed up first on the vine. They found an abundance of game, and camped near the hole. The people went up, one after another, until a pregnant woman tried to climb up and broke the vine. It was impossible to readjust the vine, so those behind the woman were obliged to remain below. The chiefs' sister had forgotten to take along her elk robe, and called down for it to her mother, who was still underground at the time when the vine broke. But the woman answered, "You cannot get it now; however, you will find one just like it above. When you die, you will come back, and then you will be able to get your elk robe again." The girl, accordingly, got a new elk robe above ground just like the one left behind. It was tanned soft, without the hair on, and painted black on one side; fleshed bluebirds were attached to it. This robe was passed from heir to heir until the time of the Ft. Berthold settlement, where Moves-slowly, a Corn-singer, kept it by his shrine.

The Mandan ascended the River and built their villages. They came to a big clay hill named Bare-Hill, where no grass grew. Near this hill they built one village. A young man went up the hill in order to get a vision. On a high hill, on the opposite bank of the Missouri, he saw many women dancing. Every time he went up the hill he saw the same vision, but each time the women got closer. The fourth time they came closer still, they came across the Missouri. When they approached the man, he saw how they were dressed. They were all mysterious beings. At the same time, some women just like them rose from the Bare-Hill itself, and began to dance. They wore crowns of live snakes,[2] whose necks were striped with different colors. Their heads were on the left side of the dancers, the tails on the right. The visionary was also able to hear the mysterious women's songs. In accordance with this vision he started the River Women society. In the place of the snake crowns, he took blue-grass about three feet long and from a triple braid of this material he made the head band emblematic of the organization (Fig. 15). Into the left side of the head band he stuck in obliquely the tail feather of an eagle. The ends of the crown were tied in the middle of the forehead. Kinumakci came to the visionary, and was

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[1] The skulls of these three chiefs, according to Hides-and-eats, were still kept by Poor-wolf at the time of my visit. Cf. Maximilian (II, 161): "Noch gegenwärtig heben die Mandans in ihrer Medicine-Tasche oder Beutel 3 heilige Schädel auf, von welchen der eine der des genannten Chefs und die anderen die dessen Bruders und Schwester seyn sollen."

[2] Garter-snakes, according to one informant; according to another, brown snakes about 3 feet long, which the Indians call "grass-eaters."

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delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. Kinumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kinumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

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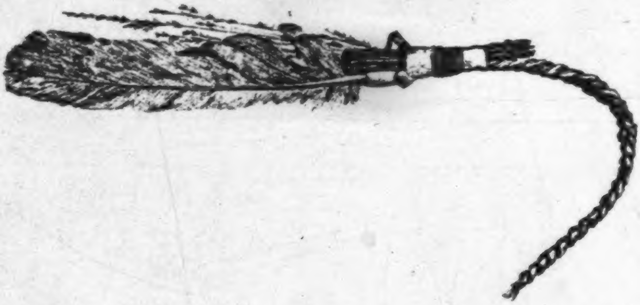

Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

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Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I`tsi`kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

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One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the
[608]
society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

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[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.

[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

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MANDAN TEXTS.

I.

mī'^{i}sipàsa ō'wakarax mī'hṑxat mārū'cec. ō'warucèkī, icákhi^{n} 539
Yellowstone River mouth Goose society I bought. We got it, then

nū'waxkùpini mī'ha^{n} ō'cahe énuka àxkupíni, numā'napekàc. mérᴇx
our crowns goose cut strips that we put on, we danced. Kettle

oki'heranì marátᴇk ísex̣ki mā'skuhinì, mō'+ipke, éokarèc. Ī'wa-
cooked feast making sugar (coffee or tea) dried meat, these (they made). I

kapèkac hi^{n} mā'+íx̣te nōwā'teki "néwak káana." Ī'wakapèkac,
distributed and calico if there is any "This keep it." I distributed,

gawī'wakapèkac.
I was the distributor.

II.

mī'xgereki u'u^{n} mā'akci hēra mahī'migak ō'ohèrani sùxgarikā'-
Woman some and pointed hill clay-hill they came

sēeroc. mī'ʻsi u'u^{n} mā'kiruxka ā'xkupkerec, hi^{n} ō'oherenì taka-
out from there. Woman makes crown put on, and then

wáxgarākc máxana núpxe Ī'na^{n}kā'aruc. inúp mána meréx kā'kerec.
singer one skin rattle had. Two drum they had.

nū'maaké hera mā'mini hī'rixirì. herō'makōc. hi^{n} ō'oherenì nū'ma^{n}-
A man water not drank. He saw it. And then people

kā̀kisen nā'aku^{n} ō'xat íseẋkèrec. hia^{n}'ska hū'na nucā'ni éreẋkòroni.
afterwards society made. And that way coming they wanted to get it.

mā'oka kicō'kēregèc. kō ō'xatkarès utkū'karec. hi^{n} ō'oherenì ā'we
Property they gathered. This society to they give it. And then all

kohū'ne tū'tuhoc nā'askahàna. hi^{n} ō'xat keresō'onik mā'aʻ sī̀na
mothers they got that way. And society when they were(?) Eagle

híromakōc. "ō'minatatinistore," éheni. káni ī'pe okirúskani. ā'^{n}we
came. "I want to join," he said. Then tail feathers he pulled out, all

máxananā̀ kehē'reromakōc. Kínumakci hī'romakṑc. káni ícak
one by one he gave to them. Kinumakci came. Then he himself

mō'okíre kahérereromakōc. xa'tā'rak éotahī^{n} mā'^{n}si inús éota ō'ki
head ornament he gave to them. Grass with them Eagle that with them head ornament

kéreromakōc. mā'kiruxkas u'uⁿ ā'xkupini mō'okī'keres ō'ota néhe-
he put on. Snakes crown put on feathers with them all

rekère nō'makoc. hí matō'na híremakōc. hi uⁿkáahe kínucāni,
together he did. And Bear came. And claws he took off,

kahére nomakō'c, mī'ʰ·keresḕra nápini ī́kererowakṑc. hiⁿ péxtakḕna
he gave to them he did. Those women necklaces ?. And Otter

híromakōc. péxtakēnus uⁿ'ut matō'+uks nēherekerèc. hináᵃskahere
came to them. That Otter on bear's claws they put on. That way then

kihiⁿ' óxat nucékìhi mató uⁿkáas. nupápirᴇk ta+istúhe ā'ᵃtāroc
they did (?). society they got when bear claws. Twenty nights that is all

ō'xatat hi uⁿ'a marátᴇk nī'sixkac, hiā'teròhereni numā̀akupenas
that society that number feast we made. And then our crowns

éheni matō'uⁿks éheni nukíxkukerḕc, minís nukáherᴇk. hi ō'oher enì
bear claws they gave to us, horse we gave. And then

istúhare nixgā̀rᴇk nuki'inā̀pec, nukíxasúxgerekat matī'ixta dikū'ⁿcta.
in the evening about this time we danced, in a circle we go out outside inside (?)

karúpxari érexkinìki inúnūp néxkerèki matō'+uk napinís inúp
When they wish to go in two by two as they follow bear claws necklace two of them

kiuⁿ'tōc náᵃska kikō'kikahaⁿ karúpxekirìkāc, dikū'usta
leaders ? two go in, inside

kínaapékerikac. matō'+uk nápini nené itō'opuc mā'ata inák
they dance there. Bear claw necklace those four of them shell

kánapinì tō'opuc. hiyō'ᵒháreni matō'uk napinís itō'pca tawáhe
necklace four. And then bear claw necklace four (each) songs

túkerec. hiⁿ ganā'ktikihi itō'ps nā'ape kirìkac. mū'u'perí'kerekac,
they had. And when singing four danced. They give presents,

mī'iharacirì, ínuperecirì, mā'+ixterecirì uⁿperéxkerekàc, mā'takara-
blankets, guns, callicoes they give away, shell

pinikas tā'wahe tū'kerec. icakī'raapékikerekàc. hiⁿ nā'apee kixē'k-
necklace some they had. They made them dance. And dance when

teki, hī'inak mū'upèrekerekàc. hiⁿ kixē'ktiki, mā'axkupkères mō'oca
they stop, they give away presents. And they cease, their crowns rope tied

nutíte hèreni mā'a'kups ī'kaskìkerec kakinī'na. mā'peha ā'we
string they did (?) crowns they tied one after another. Under the crowns all

mī'ixkères hā'nakèrekac. kawáxkanā̀kᴇs ō'hanakìrekac. itō'pana
women sleep. Singers slept. On the fourth night

ō'maxa hánakìrec, ō'kape ō'tita keréxkerekàc. kacékarèxteki ō'keres
together they slept, some of the rest home they went. Near daybreak those that went home

ā'ⁿwe óti ecká nupkā'ata, nuréeẋkac. ō'tii nurō'pẋẹktíki, numā'x-
all their homes we woke them up, we go along (to the next house). Her house we enter. we

kanāˋkac. "ímupā, kitā'ni, mahū'na!" kawáxkanā'kes nō'ota,
sing. "Comrade, wake up, come!" Singers we are with,

hiⁿ ā'we kíiẋkèrekac tíoohìta mā'axkup ónūnisūˋt. hiⁿ tō'pana
and all come back to the lodge crowns where they keep. And four nights

nū'mak nō'hū'ta mā'rahirexkèrekac. tō'panāˋne ecó kixē'kerec.
man near they do not go to. On that fourth night that they stop.

kixē'kehi kamā'napikᴇs ā'we marátᴇk íseẋkèrec. oóhereni mā'axkupe
When they stop those dancers all feast they make. And then crowns

ā'we kawákirihē'rec. mā'akta mā'axkups náciha nū'niẋkèrikac.
all they string up. On the ground crowns behind they stay.

hiⁿ ō'ohereni nū'maake máxana mā'niksùks katanícklerekà énehi
And then man one (with) bird medicine that one

kamī'nepekàs, ā'we íkaraxukōc ō'ohaktō'hereni. kixē'ktihi, mā'axkups
dancers, all he rubs off to the last one. When they cease, crowns

ī'wapsituxs kirúcani, íxahanàs ā'we kirúcanāni, kicū'cukàrani. kāhósta
their feathers he takes out, those grasses all he unloosens, he straightens out. On the prairie

ā'nahinik, patíkōc. ā'atāroc.
he takes them out, he throws them away. This is all.

III.

cáhakèro nuⁿtēk, minísinik óxat'e nurū'cec. hiā'atere ðoháreni
Across the river we were staying. Colt society we bought. And then

núⁿkikìruhèreec. ā'we híkerec. ā'taxka' "mā'karuske hárenìsta!"
we invited friends. All got there. Already "Things collect!"

nuⁿtamáhe túktōc. híre íctuxki manác nā're'toc. nápte hérᴇkerekì,
Our song we ought to have. Now tonight tobacco we take over. They will light the pipe (?)

aⁿ'taxkac mā'+usta híre ictúxki nū'tiktōc. "ā'we marácisèke
then already that night we shall all be there. "All mixed-tobacco

huⁿ'huⁿ hárenista! marátᴇke ā'we óna atínitooc kū'ⁿnìsta" hiⁿhā'-
plenty have! Feast all your father give ye." Now,

askat ictúhe tétuki maráteke nūkū'una nū'wiic. nā'aka ictúxki
that way nights eight feast we gave right along. Next night

nūkirúceẋtō'c hináasekehì kō'ots úⁿuta hiⁿáthiⁿ híkereèc hiⁿ kō'otsūt
we shall get it. That way fathers to them they have come. And to his father

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539 híkihi. "Ptamā'-ipàxtuke makí'kùuta. ptámanisè no ā'wati`c."
he came. "My clothes give me mine. My horse here I have out here."

hi^{n} kō'otsē`na "néwa$^{n}$k márahē`rēc" éheni. marátᴇke kū'urōc.
And to (?) his father, "This is your food," he said. Feast he gave them.

"néhak nihū'poō`c, néhak nihú$^{n}$cic, íniwacutō`oc, manā'nihoc marárapìninuc, mō'orakeskèc, mō'onakiruc nī'itak ō'racipoc."
"This is your moccasin, this your leggings, your shirt, your blanket, your necklace your earring. your head ornament, your face-pendants."

776 in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-
773 Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine
nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices
776 to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the
171 Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the
creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the
Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit,
776 who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and
773 the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it
is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long
since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew,
ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie
wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom
they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure
in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them
many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and
776 have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they
772 believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered
chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the
old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head;
sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power
is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars.
The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord
of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in
the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second
daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and,
lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

● 539 The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom
she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in
her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be
destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on
[821] which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether
the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman
whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who
appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed
in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had

539 forbidden him to kill the prairie larks, yet he shot all his arrows at these birds, but he was unable to kill any. Upon this, one of the birds said to him, "Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?" He dug up in the moon the pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*), for which his mother reproved him, because, through the hole which he had dug, they could see the Manitari villages in the earth beneath. And his mother said, "See, all those men are our relations; I did not intend to descend to the earth yet, but now we must go thither." The father once ordered the son to shoot a buffalo for him, and to bring him all the sinews of the animal; but the son twisted a rope with part of those sinews, in order thereby to let himself down to the earth. Accordingly he descended to the earth in the vicinity of the Little Missouri, but his rope reached only to the top of the trees. If he had had all the sinews of the buffalo, his rope would have reached the ground, but now remained suspended, and swung backwards and forwards. A large stone was thrown at him from the moon, which stone was in existence not very long since. The stone, however, could not kill him, he being medicine, that is, charmed.

821 The Mandans believe that the thunder is produced by the motion of the wings of a gigantic bird. When this bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard, but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This huge bird is said to have only two toes on each foot, one behind and the other before. It lives in the mountains, where it builds an immense nest, as big as Fort Clarke. Its food consists of deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up round the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning; it breaks through the clouds, the canopy of heaven, and makes a way for the rain. The isolated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a gigantic tortoise, which lives in the clouds. When the lightning strikes, it is a sign of anger. [775] They believe the stars to be deceased men. When a child is born, a star descends and appears on the earth in human form; after death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens.

The rainbow is a spirit accompanying the sun, and is especially visible at its setting. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of the medicine men and distinguished warriors of several nations in the north, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in immense cauldrons. [171] The Chippeways are said to call this phenomenon "the dancing spirit," and the milky way, "the path of the ghosts."

773 539 Dipauch related a history of the creation and the origin of the Mandan tribe, in the following manner. Though this narrative is equally silly and tiresome, I subjoin it, as giving an idea of the intellectual condition of this people, and the nature of their conversations.

Before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Numank-Machana, who moved on the waters, and met with a diver or duck, which was alternately diving and rising again. The man said to the bird, "You dive so well, now dive deep and bring up some earth."

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The bird obeyed, and soon brought up some earth, which the first man scattered upon the face of the waters, using some incantations, commanding the earth to appear, and it appeared. The land was naked; not a blade of grass was growing on it; he wandered about and thought that he was alone, when he suddenly met with a toad. "I thought I was here alone," said he, "but you are here, and who are you?" It did not answer. "I do not know you, but I must give you a name. You are older than I am, for your skin is rough and scaly; I must call you my grandmother, for you are so very old." He went further and found a piece of an earthen pot. "I thought I was here alone, but men must have lived here before me." Thereupon he took the potsherd and said, "I will give you also a name, and, as you were here before me, I must, likewise, call you my grandmother." On going further he met with a mouse: "It is clear," said he to himself, "that I am not the first being; I call you also my grandmother." A little further on he and the lord of life met. "Oh, there is a man like myself," exclaimed he, and went up to him. "How do you do, my son?" said the man to Omahank-Numakshi; but he answered, "I am not your son, but you are mine." The first man answered, "I dispute this." But the lord of life answered, "You are my son, and I will prove it; if you will not believe me, we will sit down and plant our medicine sticks which we have in our hands in the ground; he who first rises is the youngest, and the son of the other." They sat down and looked at each other for a long time, till, at length, the lord of life became pale, his flesh dropped from his bones, on which the first man exclaimed, "Now you are surely dead." Thus they looked at each other for ten years, at the end of which time, when the bare bones of the lord of life were in a decomposed state, the first man rose, exclaiming, "Now he is surely dead." He seized Omahank-Numakshi's stick, and pulled it out of the ground; but at the same moment the lord of life stood up, saying, "See here, I am your father, and you are my son," and the first man called him his father. As they were going on together, the lord of life said, "This land is not well formed, we will make it better." At that time the buffalo was already on the earth. The lord of life called to the weasel, and ordered him to dive and bring up grass, which was done. He then sent him again to fetch wood, which he brought in like manner. He divided the grass and the wood, giving one half to the first man. This took place at the mouth of Heart River. The lord of life then desired the first man to make the north bank of the Missouri, while he himself made the south-west bank, which is beautifully diversified with hills, valleys, forests, and thickets. The man, on the contrary, made the whole country flat, with a good deal of wood in the distance. They then met again, and, when the lord of life had seen the work of the first man, he shook his head and said, "You have not done this well: all is level, so that it will be impossible to surprise buffaloes or deer, and approach them unperceived. Men will not be able to live there. They will see each other in the plain at too great a distance, and will be unable to avoid each other, consequently they will destroy each other."

He then took the first man to the other side of the river, and said, "See here, I have made springs and streams in sufficient abundance, and hills and valleys, and added all kinds of animals and fine wood; here men will be able to live by the chase, and feed on the flesh of those animals." They then both proceeded to the mouth of the Natke-Passaha (Heart River), in order, according to the directions of the lord of life, to make medicine pipes. He himself made them of ash, lined with stone. The man, on the contrary, made his pipes of box-alder, a soft wood. They placed these pipes together, and the lord of life said, "This shall be the heart, the centre of the world; and this river shall be the Heart River." Each of them had now his pipe in his hand, and when they met any creature, the lord of life laid the pipe down before it: on doing this to a buffalo, it said, "This is not enough; there must be something to smoke in the pipe." And the lord of life said, "Then do you get something to smoke." On which the buffalo cleared a spot on the ground with his fore foot, and said, "When the rutting time of the buffaloes approaches, come here and you will find something to smoke." The lord of life accordingly sent at the time appointed to fetch tobacco, but it was not yet dry and prepared; he therefore ordered the buffalo to be called, which at once spread out the leaves and dried them; and the lord of life smoked, and found the tobacco very good. The bull then taught him to pull off and smoke the flowers and the buds, for these are the best parts of the plant.

The lord of life and the first man were now resolved to create the human race. They began their operations near the bank of the Missouri; and, in order to promote the increase of the species, they placed the part necessary for that purpose in the forehead; but the frog came up out of the water, and said, "How foolish you are!" and altered the situation of the part. "What business have you to speak?" said the lord of life, and struck the frog upon the back with his stick, and since that time the frog has had a humped back. God had made man, and told him he should increase and multiply, but not live longer than a hundred years; since, otherwise, there would not be room enough for all. The first man now said to his father, "When buffaloes are hunted, the skins of the animals killed must be immediately taken off to wear as robes; the stomach must be emptied, and pemmican made of the flesh." The lord of life, however, answered, "This would not be advisable. Men would then quarrel and destroy each other. Let them rather take the animals home, and tan the hides, then they will have robes for their own use, and for sale." And it appeared that the lord of life was always right.

The first man was once on the banks of the Missouri, when a dead buffalo cow, in the side of which the wolves had eaten a hole, floated down the stream. A woman was on the bank, who called to her daughter, "Make haste, pull off your clothes, and bring the cow on shore." The first man heard this, and brought the cow to the spot. The girl eat some of the flesh, which the first man gave her, and became pregnant. She was ashamed, and said to her mother, that "she could not tell how she came into this state, as she had had no intercourse with any man," and her mother was

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ashamed with her. The daughter was afterwards delivered of a son, who grew with extraordinary rapidity, and soon became a robust young man. He was immediately the first chief of his people—a great leader among men. The first thing he did was to build a boat, which understood whatever he said to it. He filled it with men, ordered it to cross the river and come back, and in this manner he sent it over several times. The new chief was of the nation of the Numakshi (the Mandans). A saying was then current among these people, that on the other side of the great water, or the sea, there lived white men, who possessed wampum shells. Bodies of fifteen or twenty men were frequently sent thither, but they were all killed. Hereupon the chief said, "I will send my boat thither, with eight men; this is the right number." And the boat went, arrived at the right place, and brought to the white men the red mouse hair (beaver hair), which they highly valued. They were well received, feasted in the dwellings, and materials for smoking were given them. Each received buffalo skins filled with wampum shells, and the boat returned quickly. The boat then went, for the second time, with eleven men, and the lord of life accompanied it. He had dressed himself in mean apparel, and took with him a large hollow cane. On their arrival they went into a village, but the first man remained sitting near the boat, and dug a deep hole, over which he seated himself. The inhabitants of the village agreed to kill the strangers by overfeeding them, and, with this view, gave them abundance of food. The first man, to whom the overplus of the provisions was brought, let them drop through his cane into the hole, and the white men were astonished at the quantity of provisions consumed. They then agreed to kill them by smoke; but the first man made the smoke pass through his cane, and their plan was again defeated. They now thought of killing them by means of women, all of whom they left at their disposal.* As they could not kill the strangers either by eating, smoking, or women, they gave them as many wampum shells as they could take in their boat, and sent them away. When the children learnt that the boat understood what was said to it, they ordered it to go down the river to the white people; it obeyed, and was never afterwards seen.

The first man now said to the Numangkake that he should leave them, and never return; that he was going to the west; but that, in case of need, they might apply to him, and he would assist them. They were living in a small village, on Heart River, when their enemies surrounded them, and threatened to destroy them. In this great distress they resolved to apply to their protector; but how were they to get to the first man? One man proposed to send a bird to him; but birds could not fly so far. Another thought that the eyesight must be able to reach him; but the prairie hills were in the way. At last, a third said that thought would undoubtedly be the best means of reaching the first man. He wrapped himself in his robe and fell to the ground. Soon afterwards he said, "I think!—I have thought!—I return!" He threw off his robe, and was in a profuse perspiration all over. "The first man will quickly come," he exclaimed; and he was soon there, fell furiously on the enemy, drove them away, and immediately vanished. Since that time he has not been again seen.

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* Numank-Machana autem, partis naturalis loco cauda vacuna usus erat: incolæ loci, valde stupefacti præstantes et assiduas primi hominis vires admirarunt.

The lord of life once told the first man, that if the Numangkake should go over the river they would be devoured by the wolves; on which they both crossed the river, and killed all the old wolves. They ordered the young wolves not to devour men in future, but to confine themselves to buffaloes, deer, and other wild animals. They threw the old wolves into the north ocean, where they became putrid, and their hair swam on the surface of the water, from which the white men originated. The lord of life also told the Numangkake, that when they had boiled their maize they should keep up only a small fire for the rest of the day; and this they still do. When the fire would not burn, they were to take the larger brands from below, and lay them on the top. When the lord of life was a little below Heart River, in the spring, when the first wild geese flew past, he told them to wait, because he would fly with them, and assumed the form of a goose. The Indians are accustomed to shout and halloo when the see the flocks of geese, by which they are frightened, and thrown into confusion. So it happened on this occasion to the lord of life, and he fell to the ground. He was carried into the hut of the chief, who sent the youngest woman to pluck the goose, but it bit her, and she gave it to the oldest, who was likewise bitten; so that the lord of life escaped. He then flew to the Manitaries. A young woman, who refused to marry, was here whipped and beaten by him. She went to the lower village, and complained that God had punished her, because she would not marry. A young man, who wished to have her for his wife, took the dress of the lord of life, as she was resolved to marry none but him. She now desired to know whether her lover was really what he pretended to be, and with this view placed some pointed stakes in the ground, on which he must wound himself in the night, if he were not of a superior nature. He came and wounded himself, on which she fell on him, took away all his clothes and hid them, so that he looked for a long time both for them and his weapons. When day came, two long lines, like fishing lines, were hanging down from the sun to the earth, and near to the place where the girl was. A voice called to her, from above, to climb up by the lines; that the clothes were no longer in the place where she had hidden them; it was, therefore, the lord of life who had appeared to her under the form of the young man. The girl took hold of the lines, and the sun seemed to come down. Several of her relations, and other men, pulled the lines, but could not draw the sun down, while the lord of life lay quietly in it. A very strong man, who was able to pull up the largest trees by the roots, and cast them from him, was not able to do anything on this occasion; the line turned round his shoulders. "I can pull up the largest trees," said he, "and my strength is greater than that of all other men united, and yet I cannot break this small line." To which the lord of life answered, "If you reach and kill me, the human race will be destroyed from the face of the earth."

773 539 At the time that the first man had incensed the Whites by his voracity, the latter made the water rise so high that all the land was overflowed. On this, the first man advised the ancestors of the Numangkake to build a wooden tower, or fort, upon an eminence, assuring them that the water would not rise higher than that point. They followed his advice, and built the ark, on the lower side of Heart River, on a large scale, and a part of the nation was preserved in this building, while the remainder perished in the waves. In remembrance of the kind care of the first man, they placed in each of their villages a miniature model of this ark, one of which still exists in the village of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush. The waters afterwards subsided, and they still celebrate the festival of Okippe in honour of this ark, of which we shall have to speak in the sequel.

Before the first great deluge, the Numangkake lived below ground, but a band of them (the same of which we have been speaking) took up their abode above ground at an earlier period. They believe that there are four stories below ground, and as many above, and they now inhabit the fourth from below. The band which first came above ground is called by them Histoppa (those with the tattooed countenance), and these, for the most part, perished in the great deluge. Those who lived under ground one day perceived a light over their heads, which made them desire to ascertain what was above. They accordingly sent up a mouse, which looked about, returned, and reported that the land above was similar to that which they inhabited. They then sent up a certain animal, called by them, Nahsi, about the size of a polecat, and distinguishable by black stripes on its face and legs. Perhaps this was the racoon, which is not now to be found in this part of the country. This animal, when he came back, said that it was much more pleasant above than below. They, therefore, ordered the badger to dig a larger opening, as the present issue was too small. After the badger had performed his task, the black-tailed deer was ordered to go up and enlarge the opening by means of his horns. He ran about the whole day, ate service berries, and returned in the evening. His tail was at that time white, but as this deer returned at sunset, and the sun went down at the very moment when his tail only was above ground, that was ever afterwards black.

773 539 173 The Numangkake now resolved to go up. The great chief, with his medicine and his schischikué in his hand, went first. They climbed up, one after another, by the aid of a branch of a vine; and when exactly half their number had ascended, and a corpulent woman was half-way up the vine, it broke, and the remainder of the nation fell to the ground. This happened in the neighbourhood of the sea-shore. Those who had reached the surface went on till they came to the Missouri, which they reached at White Earth River. They then proceeded up the Missouri to Moreau's River. At that time they knew nothing of enemies. Once, when a Mandan woman was scraping a hide, a Chayenne Indian came and killed her. The Mandans followed the traces of this new enemy till they came to a certain river, where they all turned

back with the exception of two, the husband and the brother of the woman who was killed. 773
These two men went on till they discovered the enemy, killed one of them, and took his scalp 539
with them. Before they got back to their village they found some white clay which they had 173
never seen before, and took a portion of it with them. When they came to their great chief, the first who had climbed up the vine, and whose skull and schischikué they still preserve, as a relic, in the medicine bag of the nation, they gave him the white clay, with which he marked some lines on his schischikué. The name of this chief was, at first, Mihti-Pihka (the smoke of the village), but when he ascended to the surface of the earth he called himself the Mihti-Shi (the robe with the beautiful hair). When he had received the clay and the scalp, he commanded all his people to shoot buffaloes, but only bulls, and to make shields of the thickest part of the hide, which they did. When this was done, they asked the chief what were his next commands? To which he replied, "Paint a drooping sunflower on this shield" (as a sort of medicine, or amulet), on which the sister of the chief said, "You are fools! paint a bean on it; for what is smoother than a bean to ward off the arrows?"

The chief now introduced the establishment of the bands or unions, and founded first that of "the foolish dogs." He made four caps of crow's feathers, and commissioned the Mandans to make a number of similar ones. He then gave them the war pipe and song, and exhorted them to be always valiant and cheerful, and never to retreat before the point of the arrow. He also gave them the strips of red cloth which hang down behind, and added that, if they would follow his directions, they would always be esteemed as brave and worthy men. The chief then made two of the bent sticks covered with otter skins, and gave them the kana-karakachka, and then two others adorned with raven's feathers, which he also presented to them. The first represent the sunflower, and the latter the maize. "These badges," said he, "you are to carry before you when you go against the enemy; plant them in the ground, and fight to the last man, that is to say, never abandon them." He next founded the band of "the little foolish dogs," and assembled many young men, whom he ordered to paint their faces of a black colour, and gave them a song of their own, with the war whoop at the end, and said he would call them "the blackbirds." He afterwards went to war with his people against the Chayennes. They reached the enemy and laid all their robes in a heap together. The chief wore a cap of lynx skin, and had his medicine pipe on his arm. He did not join in the action, but sat apart on the ground during the whole time that it lasted. They fought almost the whole day, drove the enemy into their village, and were then repulsed, which happened three or four times, and one of the Numangkake was killed. When the chief was informed of this, he ordered them to go to the river and bring him a young poplar with large leaves, which he planted in the ground near to the enemy, and challenged the Chayennes to attack him; but they answered, they would wait for his attack. As

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he would commence the combat, the enemy shot at him, but their arrows only grazed his arm and robe. He then held up the poplar, which suddenly shot up to a colossal size, was thrown, by a violent storm which arose, among the enemies, crushed many of them, and obliged the Chayennes to retreat across the Missouri.

The Numangkake now went up the Missouri to beyond the Heart River, where a Mandan village had long stood. An old man of their tribe was fishing at this place, when four men appeared on the opposite bank. On his inquiring who they were, they told him their names, and put the same question to him, which he answered; and, having an ear of maize with him, he fastened it to an arrow, and shot it over to the strangers. Finding the maize very agreeable to the taste, they called to him and said that, within four nights, a great many men would come, for whom he would do well to prepare plenty of food. They then returned to their camp, and gave their countrymen an account of the maize. They had likewise tasted the pomme blanche, and several other vegetables, but considered the maize as the best of all. The camp was accordingly broken up, and they proceeded slowly onwards. The Numangkake expected the strangers for four nights; they cooked and made everything ready for their reception, but, as their visitors did not make their appearance at the end of the fourth night, they ate the provisions themselves. A year passed by, and the strangers did not come; the second and the third year likewise; at length, in the spring of the fourth year, all the surrounding hills were covered with red men. Thus, instead of four days, four years had elapsed. The new comers crossed the river, and built a village near the Numangkake, and the name of Manitaries was given, *i. e.*, those who came over the waters.

The principal chief of each nation met, and had a conference together. The Manitari chief asked the other whence they procured so much red maize? To which he replied, "When we fought with our enemies, and they killed our wives and children in the maize fields, the maize grew up, and was for the most part red." To which the Manitari chief replied, "that he would assist them with his people against their enemies." Already on the following day many Chayennes came and killed a number of women in the plantations; the united nations attacked them, killed many during the whole day, and drove them back to a small river which falls into the Missouri. The two allied nations now remained united, but, being so numerous that the country did not afford them sufficient subsistence, the Mandans said to the Manitaries, "Remove higher up the Missouri: this whole country belongs to us. There are the rivers Little Missouri, Yellow Stone, and Knife River, on the banks of which you can settle, but do not go beyond the latter river, for it is only in this case that we shall remain good friends. If you go too far we shall have disputes, make peace and again disagree; but if you remain on this side there will be constant friendship between us." The Manitaries removed as proposed, but built

one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension 773 534
between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have 173
existed between the two people.

At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous 173
enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one 721
of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now *proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.*

These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena 771
with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing 776
without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. 782
When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of
war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits 774
painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands;
at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.